

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

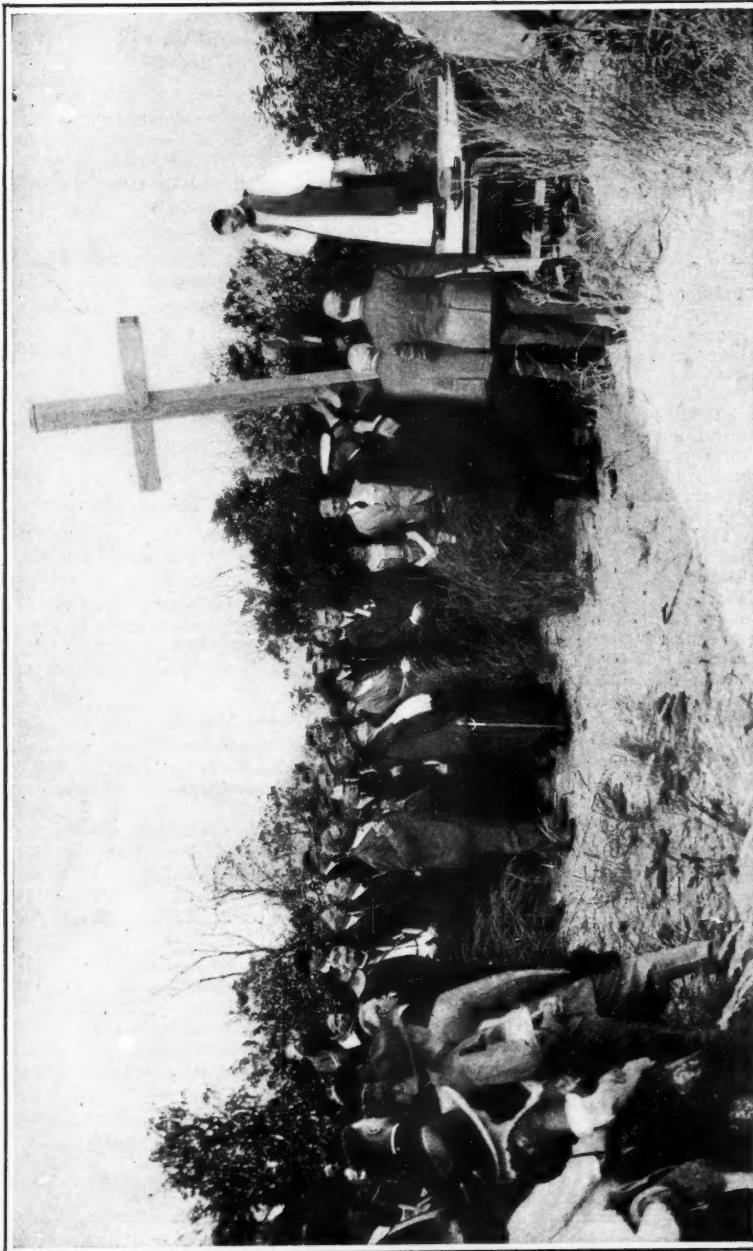
## CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1920

Celebrating Virginia's Settlement . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
<b>The Progress of the World—</b>		
Census Figures Are Important . . . . .	451	
Is the Nation Growing in Right Ways? . . . . .	451	
Thirty Millions Gain Since 1900 . . . . .	451	
National Growth Brought Unity . . . . .	451	
Further Growth and Expansion . . . . .	452	
Our Mistakes of the Past Decade . . . . .	453	
Harmony in Our Own Continent . . . . .	454	
Canada and the United States . . . . .	454	
Responsibilities of Our Good Fortune . . . . .	454	
Language and National Unity . . . . .	455	
Race Rivalries and Frictions . . . . .	455	
American Negroes . . . . .	456	
Population on Our Pacific Coast . . . . .	456	
California Would Have Been Asiatic . . . . .	457	
Oceans Promote Migration . . . . .	457	
Contrasts Between Two Race Problems . . . . .	458	
Colonizing Power of Asiatic . . . . .	458	
Issues in the California Campaign . . . . .	458	
Japanese Official Attitude . . . . .	459	
California's Undoubted Authority . . . . .	459	
Immense Growth of Coast States . . . . .	459	
Europe is Struggling for National Resources . . . . .	459	
Land Hunger and War . . . . .	460	
Great Movements Just Ahead . . . . .	460	
Japan Must Grow Elsewhere . . . . .	460	
The Tendency to Cities . . . . .	460	
Rural Population Falling Off . . . . .	461	
Radical Improvements in Town Life . . . . .	462	
The War Rush Emptied the Country . . . . .	462	
Housing in Towns and on Farms . . . . .	462	
New York's Neglected Rural Resources . . . . .	463	
State-wide Policies Needed . . . . .	463	
Investment in Rural Prosperity . . . . .	463	
Falling Prices and Farm Costs . . . . .	464	
Social Welfare and National Policy . . . . .	465	
Politics and the Closing Campaign . . . . .	465	
A Candidate Who is Not Omniscient . . . . .	466	
Merely a Question of Parties . . . . .	467	
Some State Contests . . . . .	467	
Politics in Wisconsin and Colorado . . . . .	468	
Senate Candidates in Missouri . . . . .	469	
Wadsworth and the Women Voters . . . . .	469	
Cummins and the Iowa Farmer . . . . .	470	
Candidates Elsewhere . . . . .	470	
Prices and the Western Hemisphere . . . . .	471	
Some Economic Reactions . . . . .	471	
Europe's Problems and Leaders . . . . .	471	
Lloyd George and the Irish . . . . .	472	
Italy and Its Concerns . . . . .	472	
Dr. Ely on Bolshevism . . . . .	472	
<i>With portraits, cartoons and other illustrations</i>		
Record of Current Events . . . . .	473	
<i>With illustrations</i>		
The Climax of the Campaign, in Cartoons . . . . .	479	
<b>With portraits, cartoons and other illustrations</b>		
<b>Leading Articles of the Month—</b>		
The New French President and the Constitution . . . . .	537	
The French Revolution Compared with the Russian . . . . .	538	
The French Language in Human Culture . . . . .	539	
The British Council of Action . . . . .	541	
Sinn Fein "Courts" and "Police" . . . . .	542	
France, Poland, and the Reds . . . . .	543	
Bolshevik Subsidies for Outside Revolutions . . . . .	544	
Germany and the Poles . . . . .	545	
Relations Between France and England . . . . .	547	
Ontario's Farmer Government . . . . .	548	
Mrs. Asquith's Revelations . . . . .	549	
Are British Railways Going Bankrupt? . . . . .	550	
Coöperation of Christian Missions . . . . .	552	
Searching in Asia for the Oldest Man . . . . .	553	
Electrification of the Eastern States . . . . .	555	
Jenny Lind, "The Swedish Nightingale" . . . . .	556	
<i>With portraits, cartoons and other illustrations</i>		
Record of Current Events . . . . .	473	
<i>With illustrations</i>		
The Climax of the Campaign, in Cartoons . . . . .	479	
<b>With portraits, cartoons and other illustrations</b>		
<b>The New Books . . . . .</b>		
<b>557</b>		

**TERMS:**—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post-Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters we send at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

**THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York**  
Pacific Coast Office, 320 Van Nuys Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



CELEBRATING LAST MONTH THE LANDING OF VIRGINIA'S FIRST SETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE STATE.

(The celebration of the tercentenary of the first Massachusetts settlement, in 1620, will have local features at Plymouth, Provincetown, and elsewhere, that we shall mention more particularly next month. Fortunately, the general celebration was broadened to recognize the completion of three centuries of the English-speaking people on this side of the Atlantic; and this naturally brought Virginia to the forefront. On page 455 we note the visit of English and Canadian delegates to Mount Vernon under Government safeguard, and elsewhere we note the visit of these guests at William and Mary College. The picture above shows the raising of a cross at Cape Henry, where the English colonists first landed and erected a cross before sailing up the James River to Jamestown. The celebration was under the auspices of the Norfolk committee, of which Mr. H. B. Goodridge is chairman. Distinguished delegates from abroad and well-known Americans participated in the programs of celebration at Norfolk, Cape Henry, Jamestown, and Williamsburg. The British guests have been making visits in New York, New England, and elsewhere, under the guidance of the American branch of the Sulgrave Institution.)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXII

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1920

No. 5

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Census Figures  
Are  
Important* The average man or woman does not reach important convictions as to private conduct or public policy by reading tables of comparative statistics in the newspapers. Even if the figures are examined at all they are studied casually, and the inferences popularly drawn from the tabulated data are seldom definite or useful. Yet such information as the Census Bureau at Washington affords us every ten years in comparative tables is of the most profound importance. It is worthy of the closest attention of millions of people, as bearing upon their own personal affairs, and upon public policy. We shall proceed herewith to make some comments upon certain facts as shown in the recent announcements of the Census Bureau. There are questions involved in the census reports that are of vastly greater consequence to the people of the United States than the matters of debate that have absorbed most of the attention of speakers and writers in the current political campaign.

*Is the Nation  
Growing in  
Right Ways?* The chief business of the United States hitherto-looking to the country's future-has been the creation of an American nationality. Far more desirable than mere growth in numbers are evidences of the right kind of development. When the Census Bureau and other agencies for obtaining accurate information show us that, in one way or in another, the nation's development is proceeding wrongly, we have before us the duty of correcting harmful tendencies. It is well, on the announcement of the main facts that are ascertained every ten years by the Census Bureau, to study thoroughly the tendencies that are indicated, and to help the public to grasp the lessons that should be learned. Up to a certain point sheer growth makes for strength. Beyond that, uneven or discord-

ant growth may make for weakness. It is worth many times what the Census taking costs to have the figures as an aid to intelligent statesmanship.

*Thirty Millions  
Gain Since  
1900* The total population of the forty-eight States making up the contiguous territory of this country, as listed early in the present year, and announced in October, is 105,683,108. There are also about 12,000,000 people living under the American flag outside of the continental area of the union; but we are not here concerned with these additional populations in Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, the final figures not having been announced for these territories. Within the area of the forty-eight States there are 13,710,842 more people than in 1910. The gain in the previous decade had been larger, both in percentage and in absolute numbers, having been 15,977,691. In twenty years, this continental stretch of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Canadian line to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico, has added, in round figures, 30,000,000 people to the number found in 1900. Using approximate rather than exact figures, we had 76,000,000 people twenty years ago, and we have 106,000,000 now.

*National Growth  
Brought  
Unity* The total population of the country in 1840, after more than two centuries of settlement, was only 17,000,000. Thus we have added as many new people to our population in the past dozen years as our total population amounted to in 1840. When the census was taken in 1850 we had rounded out our continental possessions by the acquisition of Texas and California. Our total numbers at that time amounted to 23,000,000—considerably less than the surplus added in the two decades

since we entered upon the Twentieth Century. We had a total population, North and South together, of 31,500,000 in 1860, just before the outbreak of the Civil War. We still have veterans of the Civil War serving us in Congress, and we have millions of people living who were old enough in 1865 to remember vividly to-day the rejoicing over the peace that came with Lee's surrender at Appomattox and the sorrow that shook the nation with the assassination of Lincoln. Yet we have more than three times as many people in the United States now as there were in 1865. That war involved, indeed, the slavery issue, and it had relation to the doctrine of State's rights. But it was won by reason of the growth and shifting of population in the decade or two preceding 1860. In building up the new States of the Mississippi Valley we were creating the dominant forces of American nationality. If this westward development had not taken place, the secession movement would have been successful.

*Further Growth and Expansion* After the Civil War and the reconstruction days, the further westward growth of the nation was accelerated. In that generation up to the end of the century—a period of thirty years—we added 100 per cent. to our population. Our resources had been largely developed; our present railroad system had been for the most part constructed, and the nation was beginning to feel some sense of maturity. It was under these circumstances that we began to assert a broader international influence. We intervened to end the deadlock between the insurgents and the Spanish forces in Cuba, and the result has been a new era for the West Indies. We assumed a leading place in the regulation of the affairs of the Pacific, annexing the Hawaiian Islands; acquiring control of the Philippines; helping to settle the war between Japan and Russia; waiving the Chinese indemnity; confirming the Alaska boundary and beginning to develop that great territory; and, as a crowning step, creating the Panama Canal as a national enterprise and a token of our permanent policy to safeguard the peaceful and secure development of the Western hemisphere.

*Influence for Order and Peace* Since we used our navy to liberate Cuba and establish peace in the Caribbean region there have been no wars by land or by sea between nations in the Western hemisphere, nor armed strife of any magnitude except the factional

domestic contests in Mexico. Furthermore, since we became sponsor for the international well-being of Hawaii and the Philippines, and helped to end the inevitable conflict between the Japanese and the encroaching Russian Czardom, there has been unprecedented security for commerce and for human progress in all the lands that face the Pacific Ocean. Thus there was undoubtedly an advantage of great historical moment in our rapid national growth from 1850 to 1900. That growth moved the center of gravity away from the original States of the North and South, and the result was our own permanent national stability. Our further growth from Atlantic to Pacific gave us such intrinsic strength in sheer numbers of capable people, and in the material as well as moral resources of efficiency, that we were able to exert a new kind of influence for peace and order in the world. Our powerful influence was producing harmony throughout the Western hemisphere, and pointing the way toward security and peace on the Pacific and in the Far East.

*Peace Champions Should Be Prepared*

Thus the growth of a nation in population and wealth has broad bearings that are to be considered with the utmost care. Since there is no super-government to keep the peace of the world, it follows clearly and beyond dispute that every nation ought to be responsible for world conditions of peace and order, of justice and of law observance, to the full extent of its power to exert influence efficiently. In the two great peace conferences held at The Hague the representatives of the United States had taken advanced grounds as respects the improvement of international law, the rights and duties of neutrals, the substitution of tribunals for military force, and the speedy resort to practical methods for reducing armaments and lessening the dangers of militarism. Having urged these principles so earnestly, it was our manifest duty to be in a position to help the peace-loving people of the world to assert themselves as against the mischief-making militarists. There was the clearest case in the world for our arming ourselves, in our own interest and in that of a peaceful world, until such time as the empire-grabbing militarists and navalists of Europe should be ready to reduce their armies, and to merge their navies. We needed a strong navy till Europe should consent to the plan of a single force for protecting all legitimate seafarers in their equal and common rights of access to the

oceans that belong to all mankind and not merely to the possessors of battleships.

*Our Mistakes  
of the  
Past Decade*

If we had trusted enough in our own principles to have shaped our policies in accordance with our convictions it is not probable that the Great War of 1914 would have been fought. The guilt of those who precipitated that war is not diminished by reason of our failure to have been better prepared to side quickly and strongly with the plain people of the world in their right to live in peace. Nevertheless, it is well to admit to ourselves that we ought to have done more in a turbulent world to maintain peace, and, further, that our specific neglect consisted in our not having a much larger and better navy, and in our utter failure to have possessed ourselves of rifles, artillery, ammunition, aircraft, and all those materials for land warfare that cannot be improvised. We were dragged into a war that was shaking civilization to its depths; and we spent in a few months, in a wildly wasteful way, some \$30,000,000,000 to produce net results which one-tenth of that great sum would have produced if it had been expended wisely in 1914 and the succeeding year, as a part of our contribution toward the championship of freedom and justice in the world. If we had acted as intelligently as Holland and Switzerland, and had done our proportionate part,

history must surely have taken a better course. Such facts belong to the essential record.

*Factors of  
Mature  
Strength*

These observations are intended to relate themselves in the minds of our readers to the fact that we had reached a population total of virtually 100,000,000, and had attained such a place of supremacy in the production and distribution of all the staples of material wealth that we were potentially stronger for peace or for war than any other nation. Not only had we the capacity to build superior navies and to equip unconquerable armies by reason of our numbers and our wealth, but we were rendered triply powerful by our advantages of geographical position and of natural resources. The Civil War showed us the need of transportation unity, and we built at once the transcontinental railroads. Our protectionist tariff policy, considered broadly, had little to do with political economy in the narrow sense, but it had much to do with national development and security in the sense of creating here a compact and self-sufficient nationality. We were producing most of the cotton of the world, and were determined to spin and weave the fabrics needed for our home consumption. Having ample deposits of coal and iron, we were determined to make our own supplies of steel. We had copper, lead, and most other neces-



© Underwood & Underwood

HIGH SCHOOL BOYS IN NEW YORK CITY REGISTERING FOR MILITARY TRAINING UNDER THE STATE LAW

(It is required in New York that youths from sixteen to eighteen should receive a certain amount of physical culture and military training, looking to their future fitness to meet quickly the country's call for service. Training is required of boys at work as well as those in school. In recent weeks, many thousands have been registered and examined, and they will be made into valuable citizens)

sary metals and minerals in abundance. We were more than self-sufficient in our production of food. Excepting for rubber alone, we were able to produce almost everything essential to life and basic industry in sufficient quantities. We had so constructed our national Government that we were free from sectional strain or from separatist tendencies. We had no neighbors that were militaristic or of hostile design.

*Harmony in Our Own Continent* Furthermore, our rapid growth in numbers and material power had lifted us far beyond all danger from disastrous war within our own hemisphere. The northern half of North America was occupied by a confederation of States having ideals and institutions in no respect inferior to ours and in many respects similar. Furthermore, the development of Canada in perfect security since the war of 1812 had been a cardinal point in the established policy of the people and Government of the United States. Thus the growth of Canada in population and wealth, instead of weakening in any manner the position of the United States, has been an added factor of security. In 1901 Canada had, in round figures, 5,400,000 people. In 1911 the Canadian census showed 7,200,000. Next year's census ought to show in round figures 10,000,000 people within the confines of the Dominion. Canada is free to follow the path of her great destiny, largely because the United States could not and would not permit Canada to be invaded or unjustly molested. It is too obvious for argument that Canada's security lies in the facts of her geographical position rather than in her undefined association with the kindred nations that acknowledge a common allegiance to the British crown and to the British flag. There is no propaganda emanating from the United States, so far as we are aware, that is intended in any manner to weaken the Canadian allegiance to those emblems of British unity and power.

*Canada and the United States* It will be Canada's fortunate mission and destiny, as it now seems, to harmonize the policies of North America and the British Empire for peace and justice in the world; and Canada's reward is to lie in the growth and prosperity that will be hers by reason of the two facts: (1) that her essential interests are the same as those of the people of the United States, and (2) that her influence in the

British Empire is ever increasing. Her sacrifices in the recent war were magnificent, and her recompense is to be found in a long period of peace and prosperity. The position of the people of a typical State like Minnesota is enviable indeed, when compared with the position of a province of similar population lying somewhere in the great Slavonic areas of Europe, where nobody can foresee whether fate is to bind the region in the future to the fortunes of a Poland, a Ukrainia, a reexpanded Russia, or a recovered supremacy of one of the now dismembered central empires that were led by Prussia and Hungary. Furthermore, if a typical American State like Minnesota is secure by reason of our North American unity and detachment, it is similarly true that the people of the neighboring Canadian State of Manitoba owe their present and future security to the same essential facts. The people of North America, to sum it up, are relatively fortunate and safe because of the sheer magnitude of their development of population and resources, their position between two great oceans, their economic independence, their political harmony, and their room for further development within their present domains. The celebrations, now occurring, of the Tercentenary of British settlements in America, are giving fresh occasion for asserting the political harmony that exists from the Arctic Sea to the Gulf of Mexico.

*Responsibilities of Our Good Fortune* It is obvious to all thoughtful people that the Great War, instead of settling the world's disturbances, has intensified the present problems and hastened the emergence of those that had seemed to lie in the distant future. It is useless to spend much time in repining over what might have been. We must, however, face our recent history with frankness to derive from it the necessary lessons. We must study our own resources of population and material wealth, first as bearing upon our own questions of national security and social progress. We must further study these facts as bearing upon the peace and welfare of the world, because we cannot live to ourselves, even if we so desired; and a world of poverty, of infectious disease, of class strife, and of racial animosities must inevitably involve us in its miseries. We should be glad, therefore, that we have more than 100,000,000 Americans; and we should do our best to make our own security promotive of the comfort and repose of peoples



© Harris &amp; Ewing

## BRITISH, CANADIAN, AND OTHER OFFICIAL GUESTS AT MOUNT VERNON LAST MONTH

(The scene above is one of many pictures that will be taken in connection with the tercentenary celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims and of British colonization in America. The Sulgrave Institution, joining with other patriotic societies, has been leading in the international recognition of the tercentenary. The British delegation is headed by Lord Rathcreedan, who represents the English branch of the society that has restored Sulgrave Manor, the English home of the Washington family. Seated in the foreground of our picture, from left to right: Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador; Secretary Daniels, Lord Rathcreedan, and Senator Raoul Dandurand, President of the Canadian Senate. Behind Ambassador Geddes stands Dr. W. H. De Beaufort, of the Netherlands legation at Washington.)

whose environment subjects them to far greater danger than anything we can realize in our unified continental republic.

*Language and National Unity* It is desirable at times to try to look at our problems from a detached historical standpoint. We

see that national unity is promoted by a common language, but we also see that there must be kindly consideration, and that unity is not helped by persecuting people who are attached to a different tongue. If Germany had used a wholly different policy with respect to the Poles in East Prussia and the people of French preferences in Alsace-Lorraine, not to mention the Danes in Sleswig, it is probable that the process of Germanization would have been more successful. Nevertheless, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and England represent the development of great nationalities upon homogeneous lines, with the common associations of a single national tongue as one of the foremost of unifying principles. The people of the United States realize that the English language is necessary to the unity of this country; and in schools, newspapers, law courts, and business intercourse, the English language will be more than ever held to be official and in-

dispensable. This principle can be accepted without hardship to industrious immigrants who come here in middle life. Their children must learn English, and no immigrant should be admitted to political privileges who has not learned to speak, read, and write the English language. The American Legion, which is the largest organization of the men who served in the recent war, has decided that it can best justify itself by finding ways to be useful; and one of its foremost objects is to aid in the Americanization of immigrants. The Legion is a patriotic body, and in no way could patriotism better express itself than in practical attempts to make all our newly arrived citizens American in the full sense of the word.

*Lesser Race Rivalries*

Racial questions, while as a rule closely related to those of language, are sometimes sources of great national difficulty, even where the language question is not concerned. Thus the present serious strain within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has nothing to do with language, inasmuch as the Irish people use English even more fluently than do the English themselves. There are certain racial attitudes that make national

unity difficult, and it is well to consider them. As between the French Canadians and the English Canadians, for example, there are difficulties that call for wise forbearance and generous endeavors to diminish frictions and increase friendly relations. In Canada, language is a barrier; and also, in Canada as in Ireland, religious prejudices account for much discord. Essentially, however, these races—the Irish, French, and English, together with the Scotch and Welsh—are ethnically alike. They blend as naturally as do the peoples who have in our Mississippi Valley States become Americans without distinction as to the European country of their origin, whether English, Irish, French, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, or Hungarian.

*Major  
Race  
Frictions*

There are, however, certain problems growing out of more complete divergences of race that have to be considered frankly. Those who thought, in the middle of the last century, that the status of slavery or freedom was the one problem that had to be disposed of in relation to the negroes in the South had very limited understanding. We were engaged in creating an American nationality; and it was not desirable to bring here elements of population that we did not intend to assimilate in the full sense. Slavery in the United States could, in the nature of the case, only have been a temporary affair. We had a large population of white people in the South who were working on little farms and at various trades. It was a grievously wrong thing to bring into the South another industrial population to compete with these white workers, with no prospect of unifying the two elements.

*American  
Negroes*

The new census finds us with a negro population equal to about one-tenth of our entire numbers. These are loyal and industrious Americans, for whose welfare the conscience of the country is increasingly concerned. But it would be foolish to pretend that the presence of so many people of African origin does not create difficult problems. In favor of the American negroes, however, much can be said. First, they came here with no civilization of their own, and they are entirely American in feeling. Second, they have no language but the common English tongue of the country. Third, they have many admirable racial qualities, among which are loyalty and responsiveness to good influence.

In any case, they belong here, and they are not seriously handicapped, except as all persons are handicapped by their own limitations. It is one thing to accept as fellow-citizens with all good-will the descendants of negroes who were here through no fault of their own. It is quite a different thing, however, to increase the number of negroes by fresh importations from non-American communities. It is of very doubtful advantage to the American-born negroes to have more negroes coming here to compete for positions. Yet we are constantly adding to our race problem by bringing in negroes from the West Indies and elsewhere. This remark is made in no spirit of race prejudice, as all our readers must be well aware. The abolition of the slave trade in 1808, while it did not wholly stop the processes of forced negro immigration, at least greatly reduced the stream. But for that prohibition of the slave trade the negro population of the South to-day would be vastly greater than it is. This would not have benefited the negroes. It would have prevented their development, and would have led to race strife.

*Population  
on Our  
Pacific Coast*

It is precisely because the American people had the experience of so profound a racial problem affecting the course of their entire history that they do not wish to become involved in another racial problem of still greater difficulty and danger. Keep in mind the fact that, in the larger aspects of history, we have thus far been making an American nationality and that we shall be continuing the process during the remainder of the present century. Forced immigration brought millions of negro laborers across the Atlantic to our Southern coasts. In a later period there were labor conditions which set in motion a tide from China, and then from Japan, which—unless checked—was destined inevitably to change the population character of the United States west of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains. This growth of our country, from 31,000,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War to about 106,000,000 at the present time, has been due in great part to the influx of Europeans. Undoubtedly more than half of our growth during recent decades has been accounted for by new immigrants of European birth and their American-born descendants. The pressure of population upon the means of subsistence in China, Japan, and other Asiatic countries has been far greater than the corresponding pressure in Continental Europe.



JAPANESE WORKERS HARVESTING POTATOES IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

*California Would Have Been Asiatic*

The Africans had no civilization and no power to compete with white men except upon a menial plane. The Chinese and Japanese had a background of ancient civilization and a marvelous capacity for economic achievement when removed from their restricted opportunities at home. If there had been the same encouragement of immigration across the Pacific as there had been for the two kinds of immigration across the Atlantic, we should have witnessed a movement affecting our development of American nationality more profoundly than it has been affected by the history of forced negro immigration and the history of free white European immigration. But for the agitation on the Pacific Coast, which resulted in the ending of Chinese immigration, followed two or three decades later by arrangements with Japan to limit the coming of Japanese people of the working classes, California would already have witnessed the transition from a European to an Asiatic character in its dominant civilization.

*Oceans Promote Migration*

For purposes of national defense, our position between two broad oceans is highly advantageous. But for purposes of immigration, the oceans facilitate rather than hinder. Looking back over population movements that have given us our present 106,000,000, it is easy to show that it has been much less expensive and difficult to bring millions of people from Italy, Austria, and Russia to our Atlantic seaports than to distribute corresponding millions from our Eastern borders across the country to the Pacific States. The movement of great ships in ocean commerce has made it profitable for the transportation companies to bring countless numbers of immigrants at cheap steerage rates. It is

much easier for Japanese laborers to get to the American coasts than to colonize in Manchuria or Siberia; and it is infinitely easier for the Chinese to cross the Pacific than to migrate from one province in China to a distant province of their own country. California, therefore, and the other Coast States, are not protected in their development of a typically American civilization by the vastness of the Pacific. The natural tendency is exactly the other way.

*A Paradise for Orientals*

The white people of California have created a region that becomes a ready-made paradise for Asiatic workers. Here they find a great market at high prices for the personal services of laborers, and for the products of industry and skill. The shining virtues of these Asiatic people, in contrast with the glaring faults of the Americans and Europeans, supply a great part of the reason for the alarmed opposition that is now manifest on the Pacific Coast. The Americans and Europeans are neglecting rural pursuits and flocking to the towns and cities. These Asiatics are wonderful gardeners and farmers and fruit-growers. The great empire of Japan has a pitifully small area of land fit for cultivation. It is only by the exercise of thrift, skill, and extreme economy that the Japanese people at home are able to secure food enough for bare existence. Naturally they revel in the opportunities of a country like California. They are a gregarious people, and prolific. Being so distinctive a race, they hold together in groups and colonies. When they obtain control of a tract of land of several thousand acres in California they produce social and economic conditions against which the surrounding white farmers cannot possibly compete. It is merely a question of their growth in numbers. The

Japanese have imported many young brides, and are conquering by industry and ability.

*Contrasts Between Two Race Problems* The Californians are passionately eager to be allowed to try the experiment, for another century or so, of trying to maintain a white man's country. The white people of our Southern States—after the negroes were emancipated and were invested by the Constitution of the United States with all civil and political rights—were also passionately determined to prevent what they called "negro domination" and to maintain what they also called a "Caucasian" civilization. The difficulty with which these white people of the lower South had to contend was sheer numbers, and the unwillingness of white people to do the hard work that had been for generations the lot of the blacks. But the whites began more and more to face the common tasks; and they grew in numbers more rapidly on the average than the black race. Furthermore, the Federal Government, after a dozen years of futile experience, gave up the plan of trying to force negro domination upon communities like South Carolina. And since there was no outside power to interfere on behalf of the undeveloped race, the whites reassumed and easily maintained their supremacy. But the Pacific Coast problem has elements that are far more difficult to deal with. The Asiatics are highly developed in personal skill, and have behind them a high civilization and powerful statesmanship.

*Colonizing Power of Asiatics* Large employers on the coast have always wanted Oriental labor, because it was so cheap and efficient. It was possible to employ in relays immense numbers of transient Oriental and other alien laborers in the construction of the Panama Canal without creating a vast permanent colonization. But Japanese and Chinese who come to the States of our Pacific Coast wish to remain and to establish permanent communities, with their wives and children, because there is nothing similarly desirable to invite them back to China or Japan. In the economic and social sense, they have an organizing power, which the negroes totally lack and which the ordinary white man possesses to a far less extent. Furthermore, these races of Asia have immense historic prestige, and their leaders do not mean to accept for their peoples any status of inferiority when brought into contact with the white peoples. At the present moment the Chinese are not backed in their racial po-

sition by a powerful government; but this lack is merely temporary. The Germans in Europe were disorganized and inefficient in the political and military sense only a few generations ago. They created military strength and political unity as instruments for racial assertion.

*Japanese and Chinese Prospects* The Chinese will do the same thing, inevitably, and in no distant future. The Japanese, in a very short period, have created for themselves an extraordinary prestige as the most powerful nation of all Asia. They have a group of leaders in the fields of statesmanship and of commerce who, in foresight as well as in ambition, are scarcely rivaled by corresponding groups of leaders and empire-builders in any other country. In both Japan and China the pressure of population upon the means of existence is beyond the understanding of the average American. These Oriental countries are rapidly acquiring our modern methods of abolishing the ravages of epidemic disease, and the decimation of provinces by famine. These improved methods of saving life will serve to make more inevitable the pressure of surplus population. Where are these teeming millions to go, in the years to come, to find work and food?

*Issues in the California Campaign* If these were merely speculative questions, we should not be dealing with them this month in these pages. They are questions of so practical a sort in the minds of many thousands of Americans that they constitute the foremost issue of the campaign in so important a State as California. The voters of that State, on November 2, will use the method known as "initiative and referendum," which the California constitution provides, to vote directly upon a bill that is intended to prevent the further rapid acquisition of California farm lands by Japanese, by what are regarded in California as evasive methods. Alien Orientals are not permitted to acquire land in California, but their American-born children have full legal rights. It is now customary to evade the intent of the law by securing tracts of land in the name of Japanese infants, ownership being exercised through trustees. The process by which the industries of fruit-raising, gardening, and farming in California are passing over to the control of the Japanese is advancing far more rapidly than is understood in the eastern half of the country. The pending bill is

likely to become a law by an overwhelming majority. To what extent it will serve its intended purpose remains to be seen.

*Japanese  
Official  
Attitude*

Perhaps the most disturbing factor in the whole situation is the extraordinary amount of attention the Japanese Government is giving to a situation that in the official sense is Californian and is not Japanese. If American-born children of Japanese parents are entitled to hold land in California, it is because they are legally Americans, and therefore not legally Japanese. Japan is less liberal than the United States in permitting aliens to acquire land. But this is a matter in which the Government of the United States has no interest at all. Let us suppose that under Japanese law American citizens living in Japan may not become landowners, but that their children born in Japan may have full rights and privileges. If it were found that American capitalists on the large scale should proceed to buy up Japanese property, and hold it technically in the name of American children born in Japan, it is not likely that the American Government would make official protest in case Japan should find it desirable to limit such a tendency. The Japanese official attitude about California landholding would seem to be futile, for the same reasons that foreign interference about questions of that sort are futile in any country possessing independence and a strong government.

*California's  
Undoubted  
Authority*

Even so weak a country as Mexico is permitted by the Government of the United States to deal in a wholly arbitrary fashion with alien land ownership, because of the underlying principle involved. That principle may be expressed in very few words. The most essential thing in the sovereignty of any country is the control of its own areas and resources in the interest of its own people. Under this principle, California may at any time exercise its power of eminent domain, and take over from private ownership as much or as little of its lands as it pleases. That State has already entered, in a limited way, upon a policy of buying tracts of land of several thousand acres in extent, rearranging them for model farm communities, and selling the sub-divisions to desirable colonists upon a plan of long-term instalment payments. Nobody can gainsay the right and power of the State of California to extend this inter-

esting policy until it has taken over, for rearrangement and resettlement, every tract of land in the entire State, choosing settlers as it will, and selling to them on condition that the State itself may have the first right to buy them out if they wish to part with their holdings. In the very nature of the case, it is a serious mistake for the Government of Japan to assert itself so actively in respect to what are the purely domestic policies of the State of California.

*Immense  
Growth of  
Coast States*

It is not a stagnant and decaying community that the Japanese are confronting on our Pacific Coast. California, by this new census of 1920, has made a larger percentage of growth in the past ten years than any other of the populous States. Its rate of growth is exceeded only by Arizona and Montana. Washington and Oregon have exceeded the average national rate. California has now nearly 3,500,000 people, and within so short a time as twenty years it has moved up from the twenty-first place to the eighth place among the States. More than any other State in recent years, California has drawn rapidly upon the older American population of the upper Mississippi Valley. Its climate has proved an irresistible attraction to many people who have grown tired of the hardships of Northern winters, with fuel scarce and high-priced. The people of California, to a great extent at least, believe that if they do not check at this time the tendency to mass the white population in towns and villages and to turn the farming areas over to Orientals, they will have to meet the problem at a later stage, when embarrassments and difficulties will be far more critical than they are to-day.

*Europe's Strug-  
gle for Nat-  
ural Resources*

There are great problems lurking in the near future that nothing in the covenant of the League of Nations, as at present drawn up, is devised to forestall or to adjust. Europe is torn to pieces over the conflicting claims of racial groups that are not radically divergent in their manners and customs, and that are similar enough in economic status. But these nations are growing in population at different rates; and thus, from time to time, their aggregate demands for territory and for various materials are seriously altered. At the present moment, the struggle behind the scenes for so simple and definite a commodity as coal is almost beyond belief. Italy

has been facing revolution, due to shortage of coal for industrial purposes as much as to any other one thing. Spain's prosperity depends upon coal imports. And the war adjustments between France and Germany are turning largely upon the output and distribution of coal. Germany's aggression, leading up to the world war of 1914, had been due in no small part to the rapid growth of German population as compared with that of France and some other countries.

*Land  
Hunger  
and War*

If it is hard to distribute coal throughout Europe on the simple principle of applying the law of supply and demand, let us think for a moment of the incomparably greater difficulty of meeting the shifting and changing racial pressure and rivalry for agricultural lands. For appreciable periods of time these conflicts can be reconciled in a continent like Europe, that has so many factors of stability. But when one considers the sparsely settled portions of the earth, there are questions arising that cannot be answered conclusively. Thus Russia had acquired some sort of recognized legal title to vast portions of northern and central Asia. But for the military prowess of the Japanese, Russia would have annexed all of Northern Asia, including Manchuria and Korea, and would have dominated China. The League of Nations, as formulated at Paris, undoubtedly contemplated the admission of Russia to membership, as soon as a stable government had been established by the Russian people. Under the terms of the League covenant, the boundaries of the Russian Empire would have enjoyed the responsible guarantee of all the other members. But is it not probable that Manchuria, Mongolia and even considerable parts of Russian Siberia may be more urgently required for population growth by the Japanese, Chinese and Koreans, in the course of the coming century, than by the expanding Russian Slavs of Europe? And are not these demands fraught with war danger?

*Great  
Movements  
Just Ahead*

Great population movements in the future must be regarded as inevitable. Just what these movements are to be cannot be foretold. There are those who believe that the peoples that need land most, and can use it best, are justified in taking it. We in the United States have believed, hitherto, that we could justify our political control of the area com-

prised in our forty-eight States by the manner in which we have been subduing the wilderness and affording homes to many surplus millions of people from the more crowded countries of Europe. We must continue to admit millions from Europe, for the economic breakdown following the war will compel great numbers to migrate or starve. The most suitable and obvious destination of these surplus millions from the European hive is across the Atlantic in North America and South America. If we are reasonably hospitable to these Europeans we shall have been doing our part, for the present at least, in helping to meet the changing necessities of a world that has acquired troublesome new habits of movement and growth.

*Japan  
Must Grow  
Elsewhere*

If, then, we are to welcome Europeans, whom we can more readily assimilate, and are correspondingly determined to check the further influx of races that we cannot merge to form a homogeneous American stock, we must expect to see the Asiatic peoples pressing in other directions. We must try to understand the problems that confront the Japanese, and show ourselves ready to maintain in good faith the traditions of Japanese-American friendship. We must welcome the statesmen, merchants, and scholars of Japan, even though we cannot give up our finest areas of land and our most promising States to a permanent settlement of millions of Japanese workers. That the Japanese are to find outlets, and to enjoy increased influence and prosperity, is to be expected; and it is no true part of American policy to oppose a position that Japan is destined to make for herself in Asia and in the Islands of the Pacific.

*The  
Tendency to  
Cities*

If the Californians are considerably alarmed over the growth of Japanese control of rural industry, there is a general reason, pertaining to the whole country, as well as a local one, peculiar to California. There are possibly not more than 100,000 Japanese who are engaged in agriculture on the entire Pacific Coast; but they are a distinctive people, readily observed, and they work in racial groups or clusters. If, in gardening, or orcharding, or general agriculture, fifty Japanese persons were working on the average in a group, the aggregate number we have mentioned would provide two thousand such groups. The Japanese have shown capacity

for securing well-selected tracts of land with good market facilities, and so their presence makes a marked impression upon people touring through the prosperous valleys of California. This is what we mean by the *local* manifestation of a tendency. The *general* manifestation, that is common to the whole country, including California, is the tendency of our white Americans to desert the farm lands and to take to the towns and cities. This is the most dangerous tendency that the present census reveals.

*Rural Population Falling Off*

There have been many agricultural counties in various States, which, for a number of decades past, have shown an actual decline in the farming population. This falling off in many cases has not been due to the abandonment of lands, but to a change in the character of the products of a given district, and to the increased use of labor-saving machinery. No former census, however, has shown what this one of 1920 reveals, namely, an actual reduction in the total population of the farm districts of the United States in the very face of a large increase in the aggregate population of the country. If Americans were not so ready to desert the land and go to the towns and cities, it would not be so easy for the Japanese to acquire land and gain rapid control over the Pacific Coast market for vegetables, flowers, fruits, and other rural products.

*The Facts As Shown In Statistics*

The census, in noting the shifts and groupings of our population, makes three main distinctions. Urban or town people are those who are living in cities or incorporated places having more than 2500 people. Rural population includes, not only those living on the farms and in the open country, but those living in towns and villages that do not exceed 2500 in population. A further distinction, however, is made between those who live in incorporated places that are below the 2500 line and the people living in the open country and in unincorporated villages. More than half of our entire population live now under what the census defines as urban conditions; that is, are in incorporated places all the way from great cities, like New York and Chicago, down to compact, incorporated towns of 2500 people. Of these town-dwellers we have 54,816,209; just under 52 per cent. of the grand total. The rural half of our population amounts to 50,866,899;

which is just over 48 per cent. of the aggregate. But, as our readers well know, the country has many thousands of incorporated towns and villages which have less than 2500 people each, yet have conditions of life more like those of city people than like those of farmers. The census makes this distinction, and finds almost 10,000,000 (9.3 per cent. of the total population) living in these lesser towns and villages that are incorporated. Finally, we have left, in round figures, 41,000,000 people, or 38.8 per cent. of our entire population, living on farms or in country hamlets and communities that are not incorporated.

*Deserting the Farms*

If we add the smaller incorporated places to the city population, and then compare the census of 1910 and the census of 1920, we find that those remaining, namely, the farmers and the dwellers in the country hamlets and villages, who formed ten years ago 44.8 per cent. of the total population, are now diminished to 38.8 per cent. Not very long ago this purely rural part of our population was more than half of the whole. It is now only a little more than one-third of the whole. This is a very rapid relative decline. If the tendency continues at the same rate for another ten years, less than one-third of our population will be living in the country districts, and more than two-thirds will be in the incorporated towns, cities and villages, possessing municipal government and facilities. Not only has the decline of the country population been thus marked in ratio to the aggregates, but there has been a positive as well as a comparative falling off. We have actually fewer farm people by more than 200,000 than we had ten years ago. With many additional millions of mouths to feed in the towns and cities, we have fewer people to provide the bread, meat, milk, fruit, vegetables, and so on than we had ten years ago. This decline is partly offset by increased use of machinery and other changes in farm methods. But the census figures give point and definiteness to the arguments of those who have been for a good while demanding policies that would help to reconstruct our oldtime American country life. There are many things to be taken into account besides the mere population statistics. The situation is not desperate, but it calls for policies that will check the tendency before evils set in that it will be difficult to remedy. Fortunately, there is a disposition everywhere to face facts and apply correctives.

*Radical  
Improvements  
In Town Life*

On the side of city and town life there is much to be said. In the first place, there has been more energy and vitality in our municipal organizations than in any other of our public agencies. American town life has shown amazing advance within twenty years. Common services of water and light, of sewers and paving, of police and fire protection, and of admirable public schools, are almost universal in our towns and cities. Modern health methods have done away with the former frequency of epidemic diseases in these towns; and the health and general condition of our city populations are decidedly better than those of the purely rural districts. This amounts to a revolution in the conditions of living. It entirely reverses the facts of, say, forty or fifty years ago. Death rates in the towns are less than half of what they used to be, and are lower than in the country. Schools, on the other hand, have improved immensely in the towns; and all the conditions of life have become more wholesome and agreeable. Housing conditions, on the average, are far better in our towns and cities than they were a generation ago. Naturally, we have progressed from a country of farmers and pioneers to one of great industrial enterprises; and it was to be expected that the cities would show the larger relative growth. Michigan, for example, which was ninth in the list of the States in 1900 and eighth in 1910, is now seventh, chiefly by reason of the astonishing growth of Detroit, due to the expansion there of the automobile industry and related enterprises. Massachusetts, with what is now a very small agricultural population, holds its place as sixth in the list by reason of the growth of its great textile industries and its varied manufactures. We have no fault to find with progress of this kind, and cannot too strongly urge the continuance of measures for properly housing and educating the industrial workers in our manufacturing towns and cities.

*The War Rush  
Emptied the  
Country*

It is none the less true, however, that there is a decline in the rural districts that is disadvantageous to the country as a whole and to the particular commonwealths. For a variety of reasons, the war period accelerated the rush of populations away from the farms and to the industrial centers. The Government, through what we regard as a very mistaken policy, fixed the wage scales unduly high for Government enterprises, and diverted

labor from the farms without promoting the efficiency of the war industries. The general shortage of labor, and the sharp demand in various industries following the end of the war, has continued to put the farm districts at a serious disadvantage as regards labor supply. There will be, in the near future, some return of this tide, due to the natural economic laws. But farm wages will remain high, and city populations, even though facing some danger of unemployment or reduced wages, will not wish to go away from the short, fixed hours of labor, the moving picture shows, and the great variety of opportunities afforded by town life.

*Housing in  
Towns and  
on Farms*

The housing conditions in towns and cities, resulting from the rapid growth shown by our census figures, have become exceedingly difficult. In the State of New York, a special session of the legislature was called by Governor Smith, which met late in September, to devise relief for this shortage of house room, especially in New York City. Laws were passed to make it more difficult for landlords to eject tenants and to advance rents. The provisions enacted also included one which exempts new houses, if constructed promptly, from taxation for a term of years, as an inducement to builders. Meanwhile, however, it has come to our attention that



"BACKWOODS PHILOSOPHY!"  
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)

in a very typical and desirable farming county of the State of New York the township assessors came together several weeks ago and discovered, upon exchanging data, that there are several hundred vacant farmhouses in that one county, and some thousands of acres of land uncultivated, not for lack of fertility, but because farmers and farm laborers are not there to do the work.

*New York's Neglected Rural Resources* The State of New York, taken as a whole, comprises one of the most magnificent agricultural areas in the world. This year its apple trees have yielded a crop unequalled by any apple-growing region in any country, in any year, in all the history of the world. But a great part of this apple crop is at this moment rotting because of the lack of people to pick the apples, the lack of a sufficient supply of barrels and other containers in which to market them, and the lack of distributing facilities. Millions of people in New York City are going through the season with no apples to eat; and tens of millions of apples within a few hours' distance—apples of excellent quality—are wasting, with nobody to gather them or enjoy them. One would have to travel everywhere in the world to find better dairy regions than are contained in the State of New York; yet the children of the vast city are receiving far less milk than children ought to have, while the farmers in the dairy region are not properly compensated for their efforts. It would be very easy to prolong these observations upon the contrasts between conditions of city and country in the State of New York, and then to apply similar remarks to conditions in many other States of the Union. But the facts are obvious to thousands of thoughtful people. The important thing is to arrive at the conclusion that there are real evils to be remedied, and that effective remedies can be applied.

*Organize the Means to Improve Country Life!* Thus, at a period easily within the memory of mature men and women, our cities were in a shocking condition of demoralization. Today they are relatively clean, prosperous, and comfortable, all through improvement in organization. The ordinary workman in our cities pays no school taxes, unless indirectly through his rent; but his children have every opportunity that can be secured by the children of the wealthiest families. The common services of water and paving and light are for the entire population of our cities.

The remedy in principle for the decline of the country districts lies in having a program, and then in drawing upon the total resources of the entire larger community for the carrying out of the plan. It must first be understood that the State of New York, for example, cannot afford to let its agricultural resources fall into neglect; nor can it afford to have its country population fall below the modern standards of prosperity and comfort. The country districts need for their rehabilitation an agency as powerful as the municipal corporation has proved for the improvement of cities and towns. There may in the future be some efficient local way to produce results; but local means—though they can help—will not be sufficient to meet the present emergency.

*State-wide Policies Needed*

This was realized when our States, New York being one of the leaders in the movement, entered upon a comprehensive road policy, which has done much for the farming districts. We need, however, a similar policy with regard to schools. It is no more fair to expect the poorer farm districts to provide the best kind of consolidated schools adapted to their needs than it would be to expect each voting precinct in the city of New York to provide schools for its own children from its unaided resources. The schools of New York City, as a single item, are this year calling for more money than the total budget of the city only a few years ago. The educational opportunities readily available for children in the great city lead directly to numerous practical vocations, and also to the higher walks of professional life. But for the great majority of the children in the country districts of New York there is nothing available but the old-fashioned, one-room country school, for which it is impossible to obtain teachers as well trained as those of seventy-five years ago. The township system can help, but cannot go far enough. Neither can a county system equalize the facilities. New York City, with half or more of the population of the Empire State, which now exceeds ten millions, is one school district; and its total wealth is taxed for the equal benefit of every child.

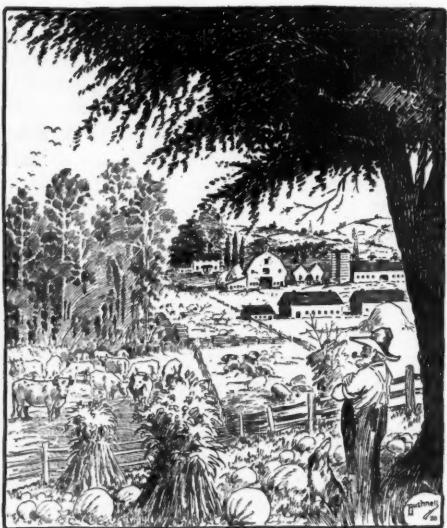
*Investment in Rural Prosperity*

The protection of the country districts requires that the entire State of New York, country and town together, should constitute one school district; and that equal educational facilities

should be provided for all children, with no disadvantages to those who face the harder conditions of life in the open country. Such a reform of school conditions should be accompanied by various other policies, adapted in an intelligent way, to bring about the positive development of the resources of a great State like New York. There is no other investment that the cities could make that would begin to be so profitable as one which should take the country regions into full partnership, regarding the restoration of happiness and prosperity in rural life as worth attainment as a general enterprise at the common expense. Secretary Lane took the lead, when reconstruction measures were under discussion at the ending of the war, in advocating a great policy of coöperation between the Government and the States, looking to the settlement of soldiers in farm communities, upon a plan similar to that which the State of California has begun to put into practice.

*Problems  
for Every  
State*

The old sort of pioneer farming must gradually give way to a newer type of farm community, in which there is much marketing coöperation, and many associated activities, such as coöperative creameries. Some of our States,



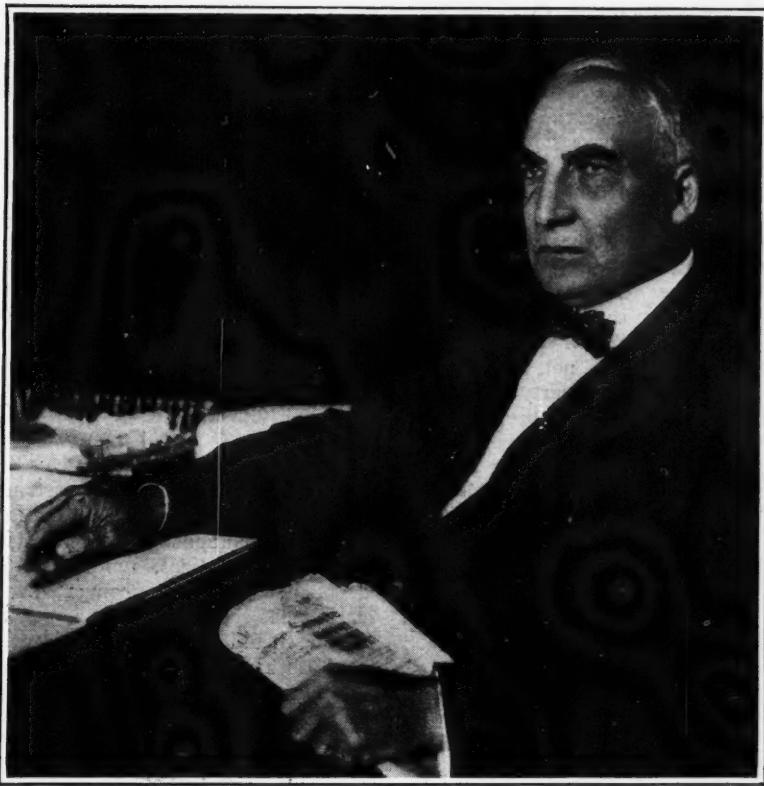
THE GREAT AMERICAN MONARCH  
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)

[In spite of all the drawbacks and hardships of country life, there is no career so satisfying for the ordinary American as the development of a good farm with modern machinery, suitable methods of soil maintenance, and well bred livestock]

notably Wisconsin and Minnesota, have been giving a great deal of study to problems of rural growth and prosperity. The best opportunities at the present time for farm development are perhaps to be found in the older, rather than in the newer, States. These problems must be studied along general lines, and also intensively, in their local aspects. The railroad question is intimately connected with these matters having to do with city and country life. There has been a tendency to develop rapidly our great industrial and commercial cities, and then to demand very low freight rates in order to supply the centers of population with food and raw materials from great distances. The result has been a demand for very long hauls at very low rates. The railroad system itself has broken down under the strain put upon it by the increasing demand at either end of the long haul. Intensive nearby development, better service, higher freight rates, and much shorter average hauls would be better for everybody. The Mississippi Valley should be able to market its food and raw materials in greater quantities at home. The industrial East, on the other hand, should depend more largely for bread and meat upon the now-neglected farms of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The Southern States of the East should produce ten times as much beef, and the populations of the Atlantic seaboard should be less dependent for meat upon the packing industry of Chicago and of the Missouri Valley cities.

*Falling Prices  
and  
Farm Costs*

The farming districts, last month, were much disturbed by a tendency to sudden and violent decline of prices for wheat, cotton, and other staples. Falling prices always make trouble, because they usually occur spasmodically; and they result in great loss to individuals and particular classes. The mischief is caused mainly by the policies which so needlessly inflated wages, prices, and costs. The prices of wheat and cotton are coming down, not because it has cost less to produce the 1920 crops, for in fact it has cost more than ever before. Prices have fallen because world conditions have been changing, so that the supply has been catching up with the demand. What farmers and cotton-raisers, like all other members of the economic community, should seek, are stable conditions, with less chance for profiteering and speculation, and with reasonable and safe rewards for industry—whether agricultural or otherwise.



©

HON. WARREN G. HARDING, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

(This portrait is from a new photograph taken in Senator Harding's home by Lucia A. Weeks, who has made strikingly good pictures of both candidates, as witness a portrait of Governor Cox on the second page following this)

*Social Welfare and National Policy* Immigration, which was greatly restricted by war conditions, has now set in upon a large scale. Speaking in general terms, our total population growth since 1900 has been due in somewhat equal parts to fresh arrivals from Europe and to natural increase of our previous population. Rapid immigration always tends to segregation of race groups, whether in country or in city. This fact adds to the difficulty of assimilation. It is not so important henceforth that we should increase rapidly in population, as that we should unify the country and restore the proper balance between town and country life. The timeliness of these subjects having to do with social conditions is not ignored by either of the two leading candidates for the presidency. Senator Harding, in an excellent speech addressed particularly to women, declared himself in favor of a department of public welfare at Washington;

and he makes a strong, practical case for this suggestion. The rearrangement of executive work, and the overhauling of the machinery of government, are among the most crying reforms that demand the attention of the next administration.

*Politics and the Closing Campaign* The campaign has assumed no novel or unexpected aspects. Seldom has a presidential election been so obvious in its issues. The country has ahead of it the ending of the European war in the legal and technical sense, the repeal of war legislation, the improvement of our burdensome tax laws, the carrying out of a definite merchant marine policy, the adoption of a satisfactory program for land improvement and soldier settlement, and the consideration of various international matters. Not one of these questions is actually to be decided by the people, no matter whether or not it has been asserted that we

are holding a "referendum." Ours is a representative government of elaborate nature, and we are operating it at present through the party system. We are not enacting laws, or adopting definite projects, at the polls. The voters as a whole have simply to make up their minds whether they prefer to have the Democrats or the Republicans in power after the fourth of March. The individuals here and there who will break away from their own parties, in order to vote against Harding or against Cox because of some words that the party candidate has used in a speech, will gratify their own sense of political acumen, but will not be numerous enough to break down the party system under which the country is now proceeding.

*A Candidate Who Is Not Omnicient*

Senator Harding has gained well-deserved approval by his consistent reminder to the country that we are not electing a President whose job it will be to dictate our policies. As regards questions so complicated as those involved in the discussion of the League of Nations, Senator Harding looks the facts calmly in the face. He knows perfectly well, as does every other thoughtful and well-informed man, that this election of November cannot of itself put the United States into the League of Nations, or keep

the United States out of the League. The people who are sure that the League as advocated by President Wilson is all wrong, and those who are sure that it is all right, are equally unconvincing. Senator Harding knows that the exact course to be pursued by the United States, as regards that matter, will have to be worked out in an atmosphere free from the partisanship of an electoral campaign. Hitherto this country has done somewhat more than its share, if possible, in seeking to organize the world for disarmament and peace. It will doubtless do its full share in the future. That Senator Harding holds as enlightened views about human brotherhood and international peace as Governor Cox holds, is evident enough.

*The Practical Situation*

Meanwhile, it is certain that we shall not ratify the League of Nations in its original form and without reservations, unless two-thirds of the Senators can be converted. Nobody claims that such conversion is possible, even if Cox should be elected President. Democrats, as a rule, will naturally enough vote the Democratic ticket. Republicans who would, on other grounds, prefer to have their own party in power, would not be acting with lucid judgment if they voted against

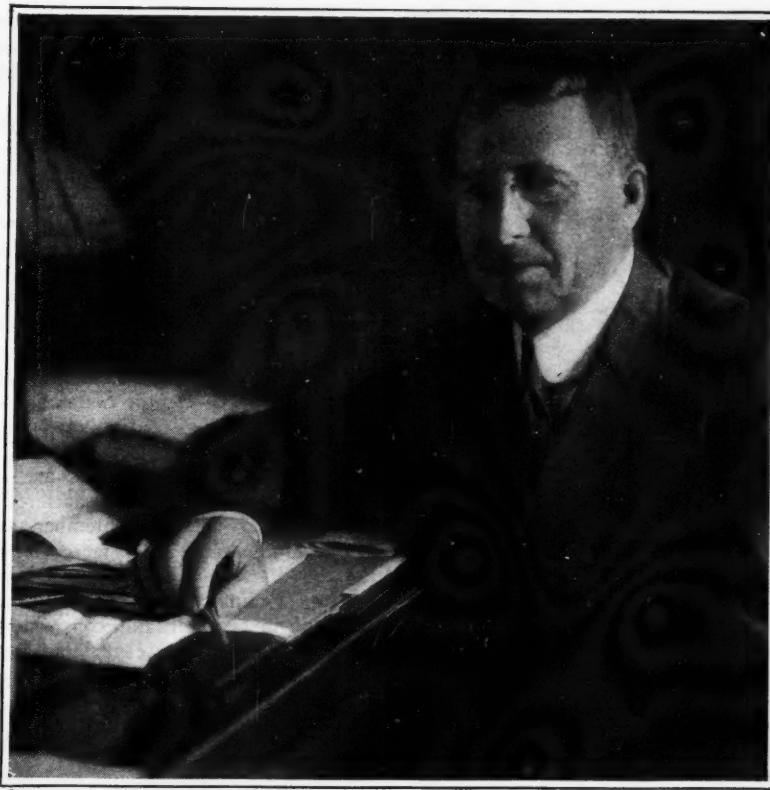


"WIGGLING AND WOBBLING"  
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



WE ALL HAVE OUR UPS AND DOWNS!  
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)

(These two cartoons are typical of Democratic attacks on Harding's League of Nations position, and of Republican comments upon Cox's support of President Wilson's attitude)



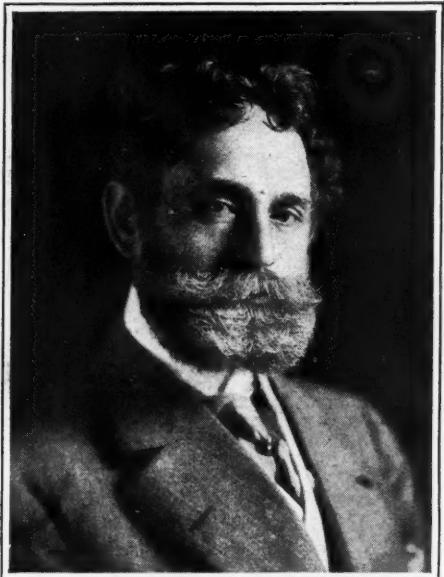
© HON. JAMES M. COX, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY  
 (This also is one of Lucia Weeks' new photographs, and presents Governor Cox as he appears at his desk in the gubernatorial offices at Columbus, Ohio)

their party, merely because they wished to have the United States join the League of Nations. The League is not an exclusive hobby of Democrats. Meanwhile, it is the Democratic party, and not the Republican, which is chiefly on trial at the bar of public opinion. America would have ratified the treaty long ago, but for Democratic resistance. Those who desire to have America more active in the adjustment of European disputes will have every opportunity to make their views known after this election is over. Such issues are not properly in the realm of party politics, and they will not have been settled in any manner by the voting on November 2. The real discussion will begin after the election is over.

*Merely a Question of Parties*  
 President Wilson perhaps believes that the country is engaged in holding the "solemn referendum" that he asked for. But in this view he is mistaken. He identifies the Democratic

ticket with one side of the controversy and the Republican ticket with the other side; and in that view a sweeping Republican success would mean a hopeless repudiation of the President's efforts for permanent world peace. The party pendulum is, indeed, likely to swing well over to the Republican side. But this will not mean, at all, that the country has refused to enter the League of Nations. The voters are much more concerned with domestic than with foreign policies, and apparently they have decided to put the Republicans into office after eight years of Democratic administration. It is wholly probable that in some way we will join the League for peace.

*Some State Contests*  
 In certain states there are personal and local issues that will affect the choice of Governors and of United States Senators, while not much affecting the party votes for presidential electors and members of Congress. In



HON. JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED MR. LOWDEN AS GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

(As a member of the United States Senate, Mr. Lewis was a most picturesque figure and always an eloquent defender of President Wilson's positions)

Illinois, the fight between Governor Lowden's friends and the followers of Mayor Thompson of Chicago may result in electing former Senator James Hamilton Lewis as Governor on the Democratic ticket. The Thompson forces won by a narrow margin in the primaries over Lieut.-Governor Oglesby, with Mr. Len Small for their candidate; and, as a result, Mr. John Maynard Harlan is running independently as a Harding-Coolidge Republican. For the United States Senate, in Illinois, the Republican candidate is former Congressman William B. McKinley, and the Democratic nominee is Mr. Peter A. Waller.

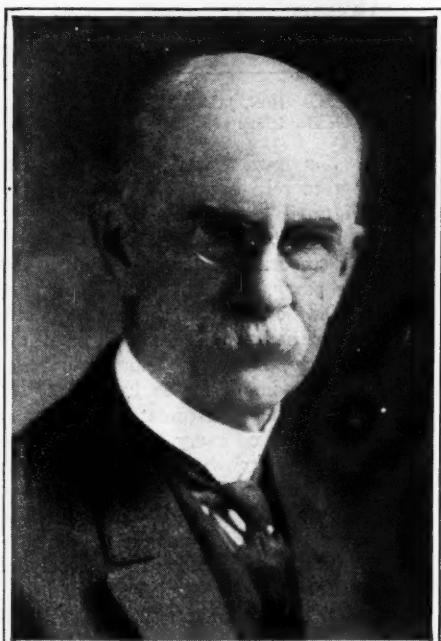
*Wisconsin Candidates*

Wisconsin is a State in which local, rather than national, conditions are dominant. Senator Lenroot has the Republican nomination for another term, and Dr. Paul S. Reinsch is his Democratic opponent. To succeed Governor Philipp, the Republicans have nominated John J. Blaine, and the Democrats Col. Robert McCoy. The uncertainty in the Wisconsin situation lies in the attitude of Senator LaFollette, and his friends. Mr. LaFollette's candidate for the Republican Senate nomination was James Thompson,

and he was decisively beaten in the primaries by Lenroot. Early in October, as a political surprise, papers were filed for Thompson to run independently as a "LaFollette Progressive." The gentleman named John J. Blaine, who had carried the primaries for Governor, is himself a LaFollette man, and Non-Partisan Leaguer, and it had been thought that the Lenroot people's acceptance of Blaine would be repaid by the LaFollette people's acceptance of Lenroot. From a distance, Wisconsin looks like a Republican victory for Harding, a fair chance for Colonel McCoy as Governor, and a close race between Lenroot and Reinsch for the Senate.

*Politics  
in  
Colorado*

Colorado is another State in which party lines are likely to be somewhat shattered. The primaries were held in September, and those of the Democratic party were contested by the Non-Partisan Leaguers and labor groups. Senator Thomas, the present Democratic incumbent, a brilliant and conspicuous member of the upper house at Washington, declined to be a candidate in the primaries.



HON. CHARLES S. THOMAS, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO

(Senator Thomas, who is a prominent lawyer and the most distinguished Democrat of his State, is running independently for another term at Washington)

He was not in sympathy with the Wilson policies, and therefore stepped aside. The Democratic nomination was closely contested by W. R. Callicotte, the Non-Partisan League candidate, and Judge Tully Scott, of the State Supreme Bench. Judge Scott won by a narrow margin. The Republican nomination lay between Karl C. Schuyler, a Denver "oil man" and attorney, and Samuel D. Nicholson of Leadville, the latter winning out. For Governor, a Non-Partisan League candidate took the nomination away from a regular Democrat, the victor being James M. Collins of Eaton. The Republican primaries renominated the present Governor, Hon. Oliver H. Shoup. To add to the mixup of parties, factions and groups, Senator Thomas decided in October to file his papers and run independently for another term at Washington.

*Senate Candidates In Missouri*  
Among the more prominent of the senatorial contests may be mentioned that in Missouri between Senator Spencer, Republican, and Mr. Breckinridge Long, Wilson Democrat. Senator Spencer was involved in a controversy with the White House last month that added to his fame, while probably also helping his case in Missouri. He had quoted in evident good faith from a report of President Wilson's remarks in a session at Paris when certain clauses of the peace treaty were under discussion. The correctness of the quotation was challenged from the White House, but it appeared that Senator



Hon. Harry C. Walker (Dem.) Hon. J. W. Wadsworth, Jr. (Rep.)

CANDIDATES FOR THE NEW YORK SENATORSHIP

Spencer was relying upon a version of the President's remarks which had been widely published and quoted months ago without meeting denial. The President's words as quoted intimated that smaller powers of Eastern Europe would have reason to expect military support from the United States, under the League of Nations, if they were unjustly assailed. A less condensed stenographic report was made public by White House authority last month, and to most readers, if not to all, it conveyed the same impression as the more condensed report which had been translated from the official French records. The dispute about the obligation of the United States under Section X had drifted to a point where it was quite dialectical, and rather too attenuated for the ordinary mind.



© Harris & Ewing

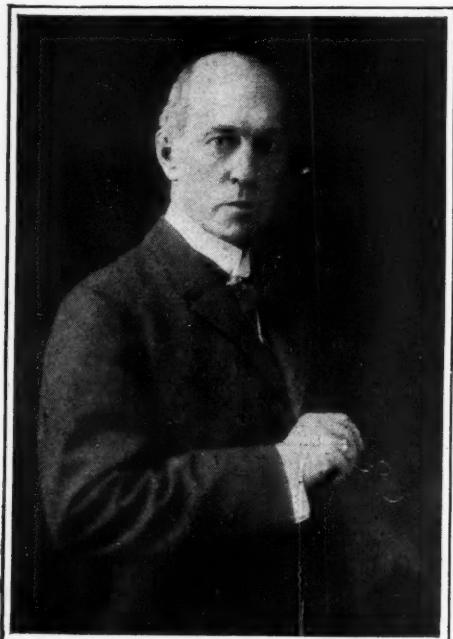
Hon. Breckinridge Long (Dem.)

Hon. Selden P. Spencer (Rep.)

CANDIDATES FOR THE MISSOURI SENATORSHIP

*Wadsworth and Women Voters*  
In the State of New York, according to all appearances, the Harding-Coolidge ticket will

have a great majority. Governor Alfred E. Smith, who heads the Democratic State ticket for his second term, is exceedingly popular and will probably run far ahead of the Cox presidential vote. Meanwhile, Judge Nathan L. Miller, the Republican candidate for Governor, is regarded as strong and capable. The much-heralded opposition to Senator James W. Wadsworth, who is Republican candidate for another term, is not likely to count for much upon election day. His opponent is the present Democratic Lieutenant-Governor, Harry C. Walker, of Binghamton. Senator Wadsworth is regard-



HON. SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, OF SAN FRANCISCO,  
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR U. S. SENATOR

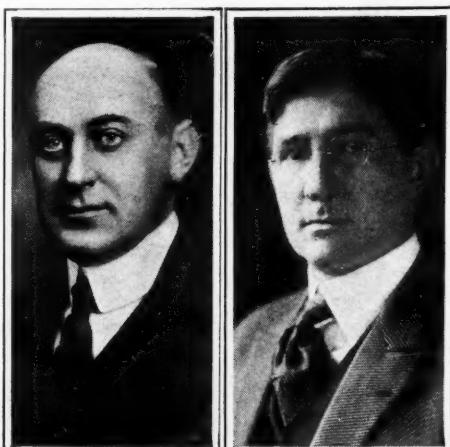
(Mr. Shortridge is opposed to the League of Nations and objects as strongly to Asiatic immigration as does his opponent, Senator Phelan)

ed at Washington as a conscientious and able legislator, and his opposition to woman suffrage had in its favor the fact that he did not, like so many politicians, hasten to avow changed opinions when the suffrage movement swept the State of New York. It is probable that women voters who cast their ballots for Harding-Coolidge electors will for the most part forgive Senator Wadsworth and vote for him as a Republican.

*Women  
as  
Registered* Meanwhile it is interesting to note the effect of woman suffrage upon the registration figures. The New York records do not separate the registration of the sexes, and women in New York began voting in 1918. The New York City registration for the pending contest is 1,367,835. This is just twice the registration of 1917, when men alone voted. Apparently the Republicans made more effort than the Democrats to induce women to register. How fully women are preparing to avail themselves of their political rights is not yet clear. In many smaller places the percentage of women voters this year will approximate that of men voters.

But in New York City, it may be guessed that almost twice as many ballots will be cast by men as by women.

*Cummins and  
the Iowa  
Farmer* Among the Senatorial contests that were attracting more than local notice last month was that of Iowa, where a determined effort was being made to defeat Senator Albert B. Cummins for reelection. Mr. Cummins is the foremost Republican in the present Senate, and his services eminently entitle him to the support of his own State. It devolved upon him, as chairman of the Commerce Committee, to take the lead in the difficult task of framing legislation under which to restore the railroad system of the country from temporary Government control to the management of the owners. Through a long term of years Mr. Cummins has been a student of the railroad problem, and he has had the public interest always in mind. The attempt of certain railroad leaders to defeat him, because, in his original bill, he had provided a method for adjusting wages and other demands of employees without strikes, is not only illogical, but narrowly vindictive, and ought to meet with rebuke at the polls. Increased freight rates were necessary in order to have any railroad service at all; and Iowa farmers who would punish Mr. Cummins for his part in permitting the Interstate Commerce Commission to arrange an increase in rates are not acting in their own best interest.



© Oppenheim

Channing H. Cox  
(Rep.)

John J. Walsh  
(Dem.)

THE CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Mr. Cox is the present Lieutenant-Governor, having been elected with Mr. Coolidge a year ago. Mr. Walsh is a member of the State Senate)

*Phelan  
and  
Shortridge*

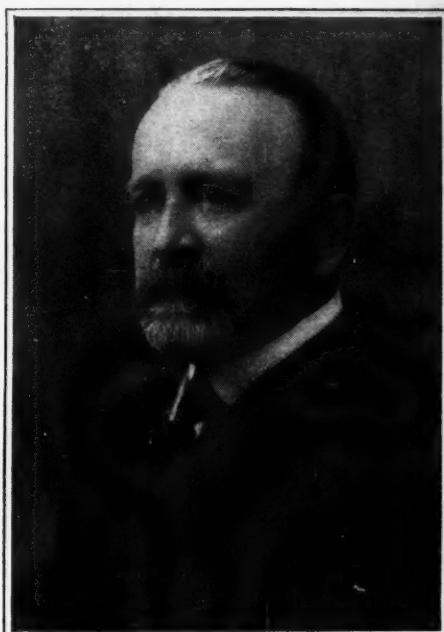
In California, the indications are for a Harding majority, though the contest between Senator Phelan and his Republican opponent, Mr. Shortridge, for Phelan's seat in the Senate, has a distinct character of its own. Mr. Phelan has been a leader in the so-called anti-Japanese movement, and has had a long record as a public-spirited citizen and a popular official. Mr. Shortridge is an eminent lawyer and orator.

*Prices and the  
Western  
Hemisphere*

The political situations in our Western Hemisphere are generally quiescent. Notably, Mexico is settling down, with greatly improved prospects. Our Canadian neighbors are rejoicing in immense harvests, but are disturbed by falling prices for their great surplus wheat crop. Cuba is in financial throes by reason of the sudden fall in the price of sugar. Bank suspensions have occurred, and a moratorium has been declared to tide over a difficult crisis. This Cuban situation resembles in some respects the severe financial shock that has befallen some of our Southern States by reason of the sharp decline in the price of cotton. Where the farmers and planters had expected forty cents a pound, they find only half that figure offered. This situation has strained credit, and led to urgent demands for financial relief from Washington to enable the planters to carry their cotton in warehouses until prices advance. Doubtless all the great producing regions of our Western Hemisphere, which have relied upon selling food stuffs and raw materials to Europe at high prices, will find themselves greatly disturbed by the rapid change of price levels.

*Some  
Economic  
Reactions*

Canadian wheat; American wheat, corn, cotton, and tobacco; Cuban and West Indian sugar; coffee in Brazil and Porto Rico; meat products as well as breadstuffs in Argentina; besides many other articles of export, are likely, through receding prices, to subject producers and local banks to severe strain. These conditions in the fields of primary production react quickly upon the demand for clothing, shoes, furniture and other ordinary products of mills and factories. Hence the financial conditions in New England, as is interestingly explained in the present number of the REVIEW by Dr. Talcott Williams. Something can be done by wise and careful public measures in the field of finance, but for the most part the producers will have



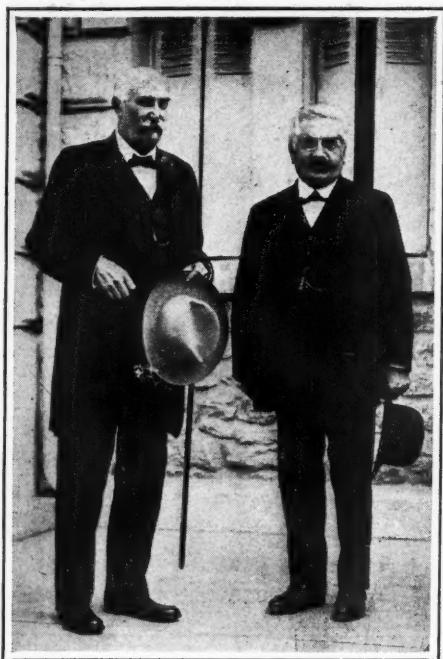
HON. JAMES D. PHelan, SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA

(Mr. Phelan has been identified with the progress of San Francisco through a long career, and is the Democratic candidate for a second term in the United States Senate)

to bear their own losses. With the curtailment of their purchasing power, readjustments will follow in many other spheres of production and employment. It will be particularly necessary to reduce the high cost of government.

*Europe's  
Problems and  
Leaders*

The most vital of the questions that affect Europe are again discussed for our readers this month by Mr. Simonds. In further chapters on the Polish situation, he explains, and, in general, supports, the attitude of France toward the lines of European adjustment. The presence in the United States of General Fayolle, one of the foremost of the French leaders and masters of strategy, has called further attention to the part that French military genius is taking in the current business of establishing Poland and weakening the menace of the Russian Soviet dictatorship. Three great political leaders just now stand out in preëminence above all others, and we have placed their faces in a row on our cover this month. Millerand, as President of France, has superseded the Premier as leader of the country in its higher policies. The new Prime Minister, M. Leygues, like the rest of the Cabinet, is in accord with



PREMIER GIOLITTI, OF ITALY, AND PRESIDENT MILLERAND, OF FRANCE

(These two distinguished statesmen are playing the foremost part in the present political adjustments and economic policies of Continental Europe)

President Millerand; and the country seemingly acquiesces in the idea that the President of the Republic may henceforth be something more than a mere figurehead. Millerand and Lloyd George seem to be pulling apart, but we are ready to predict that France and England will for many years to come act in substantial accord.

*Lloyd George  
and the  
Irish*

We are glad to publish an article on Mr. Lloyd George in this number, written at our request by Mr. P. W. Wilson, a distinguished British journalist and Liberal politician, who is spending the present year in the United States. Mr. Lloyd George's tasks have been greater and more varied than those of any other British Prime Minister. He negotiated for many weeks to avert the threatened coal strike, and he is proposing to meet the Irish situation with strong measures. His speech last month on Ireland, delivered in Wales and reported in full in American papers, complimented Mr. Arthur Griffiths, the head of the Irish Sinn Fein movement, and at the same time appeared to challenge Mr. Griffiths and the Irish majority to a settlement such as

the Boers had to meet twenty years ago. Having subdued the Boers by force, Britain gave them political freedom beyond their dreams. Fighting in South Africa was a very costly and unfortunate preliminary to an admirable political settlement. Why cannot the British and Irish find a political settlement without the tragic preliminary of open or guerilla warfare?

*Italy  
and Its  
Concerns*

The Italians seem to have satisfied themselves as to their position across the Adriatic in Fiume, the whole question having been more sentimental than practical from their standpoint. In due time, doubtless, the Jugoslavs will have the outlet that their business interests require on the Adriatic. Economic problems are much more pressing, after all, than political ones in these European countries, and the coal question means much more to Italy than the nominal control of the small Italian-speaking city on the Slavic side of the Adriatic. The Bolshevik aspects of the recent labor movement in Italy seem to have faded out. The owners of factories have not been dispossessed after all, but Italy is likely to try some advanced forms of partnership between capital and labor. We are publishing in this number an interesting article upon the improvement of labor conditions in Seattle and that region, due largely to the creation of shop committees and frank dealing between employees and managers. All this is much to be desired, and far better for everybody, especially for the workers, than the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as proclaimed in Russia, and advocated by the I. W. W. and part of the Socialists in the United States.

*Dr. Ely  
on  
Bolshevism*

No American has been more truly sympathetic with the progress of labor than Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, who has been our foremost authority upon the history of labor movements, and himself a courageous leader in social and political reform. He has written for this number of the REVIEW a remarkable article upon the principles of Bolshevism and the social value of the institutions of private property. No other teacher has trained so many distinguished students in the field of economics and politics; and no other writer has done as much as Dr. Ely to liberalize the trends of American economic opinion. What he says, therefore, about Bolshevism will be read with great respect and approval.



BRITISH AND AMERICAN VISITORS LAST MONTH AT THE VENERABLE WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA, AS PART OF A CELEBRATION OF THE TERCENTENARY OF ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS

(The famous college, which was the alma mater of so many distinguished statesmen of the early period, is entering upon a new era and raising an endowment fund to meet growing demands)

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 15 to October 15, 1920)

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 15.—Illinois Republican primaries are hotly contested, with the Lowden candidate for Senator, William B. McKinley, and the Thompson candidate for Governor, Len Small, victorious; the Democratic nominees are Peter A. Waller, of Kewanee, for Senator, and ex-Senator J. Hamilton Lewis for Governor.

A bomb exploded in New York City, at Broad and Wall Streets, in the noon hour, causes the death of thirty-eight persons and injury to 200 others.

Connecticut Democrats nominate Augustine Lonergan, of Hartford, to run against Senator Brandegee; Rollin U. Tyler is the nominee for Governor.

September 20.—The New York State legislature assembles in special session to meet the crisis caused in cities by shortage of housing facilities.

September 21.—The five reflected Socialist Assemblymen of New York, who were expelled in the regular session of the legislature, are again unseated—three by expulsion and two by resignation.

Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, endorses Senator Harding's position regarding the League of Nations.

September 23.—The New York legislature passes five measures designed to relieve the housing shortage.

September 24.—President Wilson, through the Secretary of State, announces his refusal to com-

ply with the request of Congress in Section 34 of the Merchant Marine Act, that he notify na-



© Harris & Ewing  
Peter A. Waller  
(Dem.)      William B. McKinley  
(Rep.)

### THE CANDIDATES FOR SENATOR IN ILLINOIS

(Mr. Waller is a business man of Kewanee, chief executive of a company operating twenty-four factories manufacturing cotton gloves. Mr. McKinley is a member of the House of Representatives, with a record of fourteen years' conspicuous public service)

tions with whom we have commercial treaties of the abrogation of any terms contrary to the provisions of that act, regarding discriminatory customs duties and tonnage dues.

The New York legislature passes bills to compel landlords to prove the reasonableness of rent when suing tenants, and stops summary evictions in the higher courts for two years.

September 25.—At Ellis Island, New York, immigration is ordered held up for two days because of congestion due to delays of the literacy test, lack of inspectors, and the number of destitute aliens.

September 27.—Thomas Forsyth Hunt, of California, succeeds the late David Lubin as a member of the permanent committee of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

Closing his "front porch" campaign, Senator Harding takes the stump and speaks at Baltimore, Ohio.

September 28.—Attorney-General Palmer rejects the plan of the meat-packers for disposal of stockyard properties.

October 1.—Charles Ponzi, the foreign exchange speculator of Boston, is indicted under eighty-six counts for using the mails to defraud.

October 3.—A Russian, suspected of implication in the bomb explosion at New York, is arrested in Pittsburgh.

President Wilson, in a public letter, appeals to voters for support of the League of Nations.

October 4.—In Illinois, John G. Oglesby, defeated Republican candidate for Governor, makes a court plea for elimination of Chicago primary votes, alleging fraud.

October 5.—The report of General John A. Lejeune, on American administration in Hayti, is published.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously affirms the verdict against ninety-four I. W. W. members for conspiracy.

October 6.—The Navy makes a successful test, with the destroyer *Semmes*, of the new radio piloting cable at New York Harbor, designed to guide vessels through fogs.

The Georgia run-off primary results in the Democratic nomination for Governor of ex-Senator Thomas W. Hardwick.

October 7.—At Des Moines, Iowa, Senator Harding declares, regarding the Wilson League of Nations: "It is not interpretation, but rejection, that I am seeking"; and also: "I am in favor of drafting, revising, or remaking any association of nations to maintain civilization without surrendering anything we hold dear." . . . Governor Cox at Nashville, Tenn., says: "Now, he's against the League, I'm for the League."

October 9.—In Illinois, John Maynard Harlan enters the contest for the governorship as the "Harding-Coolidge" Republican candidate, against Len Small of the Thompson faction and J. Hamilton Lewis, Democrat.

October 10.—Internal Revenue collections for the 1920 fiscal year are announced as totalling \$5,408,075,468, an increase of \$1,557,925,389; \$3,850,150,078 is from excess-profits and income taxes.

October 11.—Night riders in Georgia terrorize cotton ginners of Douglas County; planters appeal to national authorities for financial relief because of sharp price drop in cotton.

October 12.—President Wilson reopens the anthracite miners' wage award and calls another conference for October 18.

Brig.-Gen. George Barnett's report on Haytian occupation by United States marines reveals that 3250 natives were killed, some of them without sufficient cause.

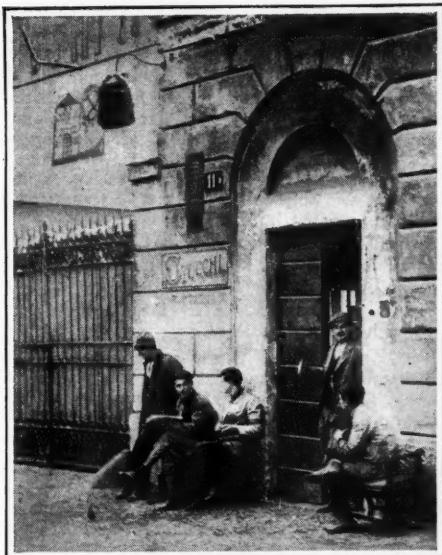
October 14.—The Italian ship *Dante d'Alighieri* is searched at New York for contraband liquor, a quantity of which is discovered by customs inspectors and armed guards.



© Harris & Ewing

THE THREE COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(The government of the city of Washington and its environs is administered by a board of commissioners. To fill an existing vacancy, President Wilson has appointed Miss Mabel T. Boardman as one of those commissioners. Miss Boardman has long been prominent in social and civic affairs of the District—especially as executive director, some years ago, of the national work of the American Red Cross. Col. Charles W. Kutz, at the left of the picture, and J. Thilman Hendrick, at the right, constitute the other two members of the board.)



A WORKMEN'S GUARD BEFORE A SOVIETIZED ITALIAN FACTORY

(For several weeks, during late September and early October, Italian workmen were in full control of factories in Milan, Turin, and other cities. The situation was solved, however, when the workmen found the employers were a necessary part of the industrial machine. Meanwhile the workmen gained wage advances and improved conditions of employment)

Secretary Houston refuses to help Southern and Western farmers maintain prices by government financing of their crops.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 15.—Premier Giolitti, of Italy, intervenes in the metal-workers' strike and summons employers and employees to a conference.

September 17.—Italian employers agree to let their men participate but not dominate in plant management, conditioned upon release of factories seized by the workers; a commission will be formed to arrange terms.

September 19.—In Italy, employers submit to Premier Giolitti's plan of settlement with their workmen; increases granted the men are retroactive to July 15, excepting the period when the factories were commandeered by the men.

Three Turkish Ministers resign because of failure to compromise with Nationalists on fulfillment of the peace treaty.

September 21.—Balbriggan, Ireland, suffers prompt reprisals for the murder of Head Constable Burke; two are killed, and factories and homes are destroyed.

The French Senate and Chamber accept President Paul Deschanel's resignation, brought about by ill health after only seven months in office.

Shanghai banks and business houses place a ban on \$20,000,000 of Peking bonds, sold at the British port for 12 per cent. of their face value.

September 23.—Premier Alexandre Millerand is chosen President of France by the National Assembly, meeting as an electoral college at Versailles, receiving 695 out of 892 votes.

Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine under Clemenceau, becomes Premier of France.

September 25.—British coal miners and operators meet to establish an index figure for coal production, above which the men receive proportional wage increases; the strike is suspended.

Premier Leygues receives his first vote of confidence in the French Chamber, 507 to 80.

September 26.—In Belfast and other towns the dreary web of murder and reprisal, of riot and of arson, drags more police and citizens to the hearse and the hospital; curfew is revived, effective in twenty-four hours.

In Italy, as a result of the labor referendum vote of 132,000 for and 45,000 against the Giolitti settlement, the Metallurgic Union orders workers to return factories to their owners.

September 29.—Alderman James Roll is elected Mayor of London to succeed Sir Edward E. Cooper.

October 1.—The Chilean Court of Honor decides 5 to 2 that Arturo Alessandri was elected President, receiving 177 electoral votes against 176 votes for Luis Barros Borgono.

October 4.—Premier Dato, of Spain, promises sweeping reforms throughout the country at a session of the Cabinet Council.

October 6.—The "Vengeance Gang" in Egypt is convicted of conspiracy; it is anti-British, and accused of plotting murders and attempting to depose the Sultan.

October 7.—In Berlin, newspapers are stopped by strikes.

October 8.—Viscount Grey follows up a previous public letter on Ireland in the British press by saying that a settlement will never be reached until Ireland is made responsible for forming its own government and British support withdrawn.

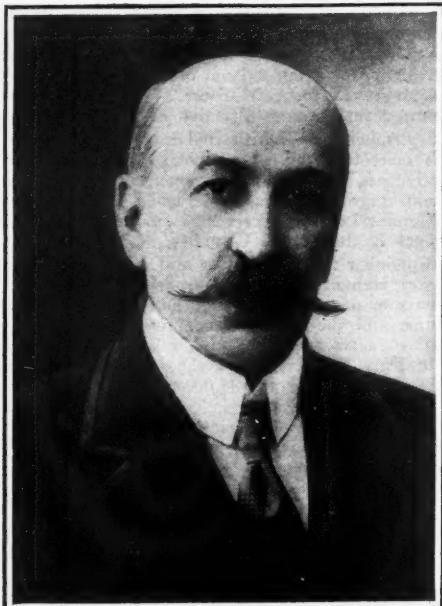
October 9.—Premier Lloyd George speaks on the Irish question, at Carnarvon, Wales, for uncompromising restoration of order and refusal of dominion home rule.

October 10.—President Menocal, of Cuba, proclaims a fifty-day moratorium, due to falling sugar prices, after a conference with bankers.



SOVIET WORKERS IN POSSESSION OF THE FIAT PLANT AT TURIN, ITALY

(Soviet delegates holding a session in the office formerly occupied by the directors of the company)



GEORGES JEAN CLAUDE LEYGUES, PREMIER OF FRANCE

(The first official act of Millerand, after his election to the presidency of France, was to offer the premiership to Georges Leygues. The new premier was Minister of Marine in the war cabinet of Premier Clemenceau, and became a foremost authority on naval and shipping matters during the submarine campaign. He is in his sixty-second year, has been a member of the Chamber of Deputies since 1884, and has served in six ministries)

Irish republicans ambush military lorries near Cork, killing and capturing men and officers.

October 11.—Liberals in New Brunswick retain twenty-five seats in the recent elections; twenty-three are held by the Conservative-Farmer and Labor parties.

The Prince of Wales returns to London.

October 12.—King Alexander, of Greece, is seriously ill from the bite of a pet monkey.

October 14.—British coal miners reject the wage settlement offer of the Government, and a strike is imminent.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 14.—Rumania, ratifying, becomes the twenty-sixth nation party to the Treaty of Versailles and thirty-ninth member of the League of Nations.

September 15.—Baron K. Shidehara, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, begins formal negotiations regarding anti-Japanese legislation pending on referendum in California.

September 18.—The Aland Islands question is referred to the League of Nations by Finland and Sweden.

September 19.—The Poles succeed in delivering Eastern Galicia from the Russian Reds.

The King and Queen of the Belgians land in Brazil at Rio de Janeiro.

September 20.—Polish and Lithuanian representatives, before the League Council, agree to suspend hostilities pending settlement of their boundary dispute.

September 21.—The Russo-Polish peace conference opens at Riga, Latvia.

September 24.—The Russian Reds, at Riga, offer the Poles an armistice for acceptance in ten days, and offer withdrawals of nearly all the proposals previously made for sovietizing Poland.

The International Financial Conference opens at Brussels.

The Russian Minister to China receives a decree from the Chinese Foreign Office terminating official relations with Russia.

September 25.—At Gensan, Korea, twenty-five are killed in student anti-Japanese riots.

September 27.—The fortress of Grodno is captured from the Bolsheviks by the Poles.

Spanish reports indicate progress against the hostile tribes of Morocco.

September 28.—General Wrangel's troops in South Russia are reported victorious over the Reds north of Alexandrovsk.

September 29.—Polish troops capture Lida and Pinsk, approaching the Lithuanian capital, Vilna.

September 30.—The Bolshevik Third Army is reported smashed by the Poles. . . . General Wrangel's troops capture Kharkov.

October 1.—The American State Department inquires the reason for China's acceptance of Bolshevik renunciation of Russian concessions, and informally negotiates with other powers to prevent such action.

October 6.—Russian Reds, at Riga, sign an armistice with the Poles, on the basis of the



© Moffett Studio

#### MR. ROY C. OSGOOD, NEW PRESIDENT OF THE INVESTMENT BANKERS' ASSOCIATION

The association, at its ninth annual convention in Boston last month, elected Mr. Osgood president for the coming year. He is vice-president of the First Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago)

eleven points submitted by the latter at the opening of the conference. . . . It is reported that French General Weygand has gone to South Russia to help General Wrangel.

President-elect Obregon, of Mexico, crosses the border at El Paso, on the first train to cross in eight years, to visit the United States.

October 7.—The Brussels Conference urges all nations to reduce expenditures to receipts, reform currencies, level barriers to trade, cut down armaments and form an international credit organization through the League.

An Allied mission, arriving on the scene of the Polish-Lithuanian border dispute, stops fighting in the Orany region, now under Allied control.

South Russians and Ukrainians join forces against the Russian Reds, and Ukrainian General Balachowic moves against Moscow.

October 8.—Japan sends her Siberian troops into Korea on their return; Korean garrisons are ordered into China; bandits infest the Hunchun region of Manchuria.

October 9.—Southern Tyrol passes formally into Italian hands from Austria, under the treaty.

October 10.—Upon reported presence of Soviet submarines in the Baltic, the British Foreign Office notifies Russia they will be attacked on sight by British naval forces.

Two divisions of Polish troops under General Zellgouski enter Vilna, Lithuania, "to give the population the right of self-determination."

The plebiscite in Klagenfurt, Lower Austria, is held to determine whether the region shall become part of Jugoslavia; the region votes to remain Austrian.

At Madrid, the International Postal Union Congress plans sweeping changes in world mail relations.

October 11.—The Chinese consortium of international bankers holds a meeting at New York to plan organization and methods.

October 12.—The Poles sign an armistice and preliminary peace treaty with Soviet Russia which will become effective October 18.

Ukrainian insurgents occupy Kiev; General Wrangel attacks the Soviet Sixth Army near the River Dnieper, at Kakhovka.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 18.—Near Birmingham, Ala., seven companies of State troops go on duty to keep order in the strike of coal miners.

California, it is announced, has gained 44 per cent., with a present population of 3,426,526 by the new census; the State is now larger than Indiana or Georgia.

September 23.—Prices of cotton products, automobiles, and mail-order merchandise drop sharply with reductions in wholesale food prices.

September 24.—British and Dutch delegations in New York celebrate the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

September 25.—In Boston, the fifth bank in two months is closed.

September 27.—It is announced that Missouri has 3,403,547 population, having gained 3.3 per cent. in the last census.

The second annual convention of the American Legion is held at Cleveland, Ohio.



PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE AND MR. BONAR LAW  
(Leaving the Board of Trade after a conference with the coal miners' representatives)

September 28.—Deep sea longshoremen of North Atlantic ports renew their wage agreement for a year.

Seven baseball players are indicted in Chicago for conspiracy to "throw" the world series of 1919 after being bribed by gamblers.

New census reports show a growth of 15 per cent. in Illinois and 6,485,098 population; Montana has 547,593 and increased 45.6 per cent., while New Mexico shows 10 per cent. increase and 360,247 inhabitants, and Louisiana gained 8.5 per cent. and now numbers 1,797,798 persons.

Sadi Lecoite wins the Bennett trophy in the international airplane race over 186.3 miles in France; his time is 1:06:17½.

Another Boston trust company is closed.

September 29.—Prof. Walter Dill Scott is made president of Northwestern University.

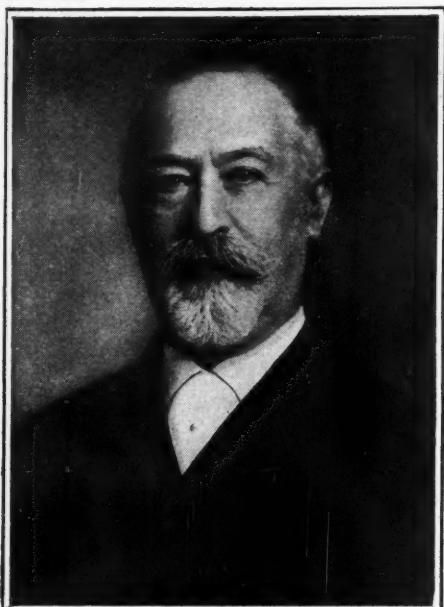
September 30.—Kentucky's increase of 5.5 per cent. under the new census makes her population 2,416,053; North Dakota gains 11.9 per cent., with a total of 645,780 inhabitants.

October 1.—New York tenants succeed in retaining dwellings under the new rent laws on this annual moving day.

October 2.—The new census indicates a .4 per cent. decline in population in Mississippi, with a present total of 1,789,182; Oklahoma increases 22.4 per cent. and totals 2,027,564; Wisconsin gains 12.8 per cent. and has 2,631,839; South Dakota gains 8.9 per cent., with 635,839.

October 3.—It is announced by the Geological Survey that domestic petroleum production for the first eight months of 1920 was 246,111,000 barrels, with 128,999,000 in storage.

October 4.—The favorable trade balance for the eight months preceding September decreases



THE LATE JACOB H. SCHIFF

(Mr. Schiff, who died on September 25 at the age of seventy-three, was head of the New York banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. He was born in Germany and came to the United States when eighteen years old. He became a leading railway financier, devoting a large part of his time in later years to philanthropic work)

\$172,000,000, compared with last year; exports decrease, and imports gain.

October 4.—The New York State population increase is announced as 13 per cent., with a total of 10,384,144; New Jersey increases 24.4 per cent. with 3,155,374; Texas gains 19.6 per cent. with 4,661,027; Idaho gains 32.6 per cent. with 431,826.

October 5.—W. A. Harriman publishes the text of the agreement between his American Ship and Commerce Corporation and the Hamburg-American Line, showing American control.

According to the new census, North Carolina gains 15.9 per cent. and has 2,556,486 persons; Kansas increased 4.6 per cent. and has 1,769,185, while Arizona gains 63.1 per cent. with 333,273.

The World's Sunday School Convention hall in Tokio is destroyed by fire, on the eve of the convention.

October 6.—At Hazelhurst Field, Long Island, a successful test is made of a fireproof airplane, which lands at night on a dark field, with the aid of torches and mirrors affixed to the under side of the plane.

Deputy sheriffs and striking coal miners are shot in a fight at Blair, Logan County, W. Va.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of Jenny Lind is observed by famous singers in New York (see page 556).

The new census figures for the entire continental United States are announced, giving the total as 105,683,108, an increase of 14.9 per cent. in ten years; New York remains the most populous State, followed by Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio.

October 8.—Silk, cotton, and shoe factories in Massachusetts, despite offers by employees to accept reduced pay, shut down through lack of demand for their products.

October 11.—Cotton futures, from January on, drop below twenty cents in the New York exchange; spot cotton falls to twenty-three cents.

October 12.—The Cleveland "Indians" win the world series baseball championship from the Brooklyn "Robins."

With prominent officials presiding, ground is broken for the New York-New Jersey vehicular tunnel under the Hudson River.

#### OBITUARY

September 15.—Raimundo de Madrazo, famous Spanish portrait painter, 79.

September 16.—Marcelino Perez, of New York, president of the Union Beneficia Espanola, 56. . . . Rev. Dr. William Jay Peck, Presbyterian lecturer and writer, 67.

September 17.—William Hamersley, ex-Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court, 82. . . . Charles Butler, well-known New York actor, 74.

September 19.—Robert Bevan, of Victoria, B. C., ex-Premier of British Columbia, 84.

September 20.—Michael P. Grace, noted American shipping merchant, 78. . . . Dr. George Nasmyth, well-known American sociologist and international peace advocate, 38.

September 21.—Dr. George Morewood Lefferts, throat specialist at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, 74.

September 24.—George P. Salisbury, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 57. . . . John William Sargent, founder of the Society of American Magicians, 67.

September 25.—Jacob H. Schiff, famous American railway financier and philanthropist, 73.

September 27.—William H. de Beau Nelson, editor of the *International Studio*, 50.

September 30.—Mrs. Alice Dougherty Goodrich, New York sculptor, 39.

October 2.—Winthrop Murray Crane, of Massachusetts, United States Senator and Republican national leader, 67. . . . Rev. Albert Vogel, of Jeanette, Pa., Methodist evangelist, 103. . . . William Young, author and dramatist, 73.

October 5.—Charles Norris Williamson, noted English author.

October 6.—Brig.-Gen. John Henry Patterson, U. S. A., retired, 77. . . . John Haskell Hewitt, LL.D., for many years professor of ancient languages at Williams College, 85. . . . Miguel de Palacios, widely known Spanish author, 60.

October 7.—Rev. Andrew Schriver, D.D., of Chester, N. Y., well-known Methodist clergyman and Civil War veteran, 80.

October 10.—Rev. Hudson Stuck, Archdeacon of the Yukon and noted Alaska explorer, 57.

October 12.—Mrs. Ogden Mills, a leader in New York society affairs and civic movements.

October 14.—John Franklin, editorial director of the Havas Agency, 53.

October 13.—Charles McCallon Alexander, the famous singing evangelist, 53. . . . Joseph G. Snydacker, Chicago capitalist and art collector, 55.

# THE CLIMAX OF THE CAMPAIGN IN CARTOONS



AN UNATTRACTIVE INFANT—From the *News* (Chicago)



SPOILING MR. HARDING'S ACT  
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

[This is typical of Democratic glee over the Republican candidate's efforts to keep both factions of his party in harmony.]



HELL BENT FOR ELECTION  
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)

[Can Mr. Cox guide the Democratic donkey safely along the rocky road with his heavy cargo?—A California idea of the situation, which illustrates the Republican view of the Democratic candidate's championship of the Wilson League of Nations]



FOR A NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



BUT WHY BOTHER, MR. ROOT, TO MAKE ANOTHER DOOR?  
(From the *Tribune*, Sioux City, Iowa)



"A BANNER WITH A STRANGE DEVICE"  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



TRYING TO COVER IT UP  
From the *Evening World* (New York)



"LET NOT THY LEFT HAND KNOW WHAT THY RIGHT DOETH"  
From the *Times* (New York)



"GO! AND DON'T YOU NEVER COVE BACK!"

(There are some folks, familiar with melodrama, who expect to see a reconciliation in the final act)  
From *Collier's* (New York)

The cartoons on this and the preceding page emphasize some differences of opinion among Republican leaders regarding the League or a League. Senator Harding's efforts to harmonize the opposing points of

view within his own party have led his critics to picture a wavering policy. Senators Johnson and Borah are shown as representing those most opposed to a league, with Mr. Taft representing its supporters.



SENATOR JOHNSON AND MR. TAFT ON THE SAME PLATFORM  
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)  
Nov.—3



AN UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER  
From the *World* (New York)



AFTER ALL, SENATOR HARDING'S FRONT PORCH CAMPAIGN  
ISN'T SO BAD

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



BEWARE! BEWARE!

From the *American* © (New York)  
[The Democratic candidate for the Presidency this year has failed to receive the customary support from Mr. Hearst's nation-wide group of newspapers. Mr. Cox has become a foremost champion of the League of Nations, while Mr. Hearst is its most bitter opponent]



"ALAS, POOR YORICK! I KNEW HIM!"

[A reminder that the Hague Tribunal—proposed in some quarters as a worthy substitute for the Wilson League of Nations—was in existence when the great war broke out, and failed to exercise a retarding effect]

From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



THOSE FOURTEEN POINTS—THIRTEEN INCORRIGIBLE KIDS  
AND BULLDOG "ARTICLE X"

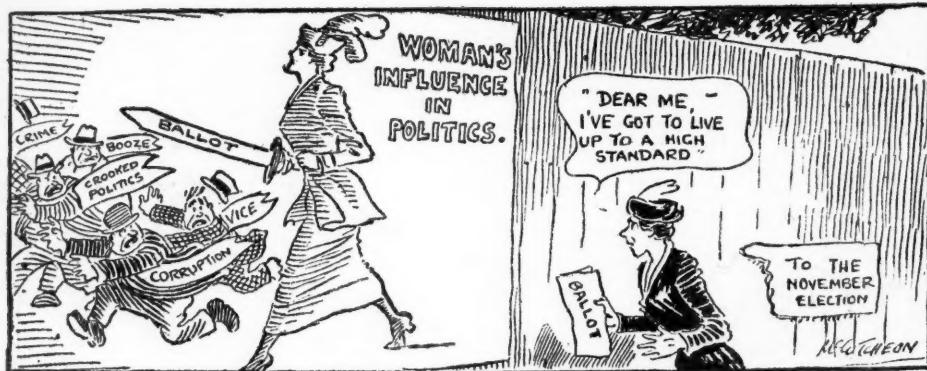
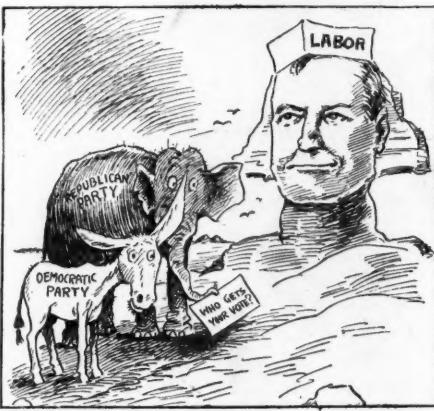
(You can hardly blame your Uncle for not wanting to let the place to them)—From the *Free Press* (Detroit, Mich.)

COXEY'S ARMY—From *Harvey's Weekly* (New York)

In the procession behind Candidate Cox and President Wilson, in the cartoon above, one can distinguish several cabinet members who have been made targets for attack during the campaign; and close upon their heels we find the "boss" of Tammany Hall in New York. A California cartoonist, in the

drawing below at the left, also associates Mr. Cox with the Tammany tiger. In the third cartoon President Wilson is pictured as the god whose thunder and lightning were hurled down upon his enemies—in this case upon the League opposition as represented by the United States Senate.

PLAYFELLOWS  
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)THE ANGER OF JOVE  
From the *Times* (Seattle, Wash.)

CAN SHE LIVE UP TO THE EXPECTATIONS?—From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)COMPROMISING THE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES OF JONES AND HIS WIFE  
By Donahey, in the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)THE HOUSE DIVIDED  
By Shafer, in the *Post* (Cincinnati, Ohio)THE SCARY SEASON  
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)WONDER WHAT HE THINKS?  
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



JOHN BULL: "KEEP QUIET! THIS DOG TAKES A LOT OF WAKING, BUT ONCE ROUSED HE BITES!"  
From the *Passing Show* (London)



THE "HOUSE"-BREAKER  
(Overthrow of the Parliament of Democracy; a dream of the "Council of Action")  
From *Punch* (London)



—AND HE CALLED FOR HIS FIDDLERS THREE!  
From the *Express* (London)



LLOYD GEORGE: "WOULDN'T THIS WAY BE EASIER?"  
(Labor destroying the tree to get the fruit)  
From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



MR. SMILLIE'S AMENDMENT  
From *Opinion* (London)

# THE ARMISTICE OF RIGA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. FROM RETHONDES TO RIGA

RARELY in the crowded history of the past seven years has there been a more perfect cycle than that which has been spread out before the world in the Russo-Polish War of the past three months. In September I set forth in this magazine the victorious onward rush of the Bolshevik armies already at the doors of Warsaw. The world had to contemplate the possibility of a supreme Red triumph and the arrival in Central and even in Western Europe of a new invasion which strangely mingled the methods of Ghenghis Khan with the principles of Karl Marx.

Last month I recorded here the story of the miracle of the Vistula, which so completely reproduced the miracle of the Marne and delivered Poland and the civilized world from the Russian menace, as the First Marne had saved France and western democracy from the German aggression. In the deliverance there was afforded to western nations the opportunity to perceive from what catastrophe they had escaped so narrowly and in the circumstances of the victory procured by French genius and Polish devotion there was found the hope that the danger had not alone been postponed but exorcised.

And now, for November, it is possible to report the final stage. As they surrendered to Germany at Brest-Litovsk, the Reds have now capitulated to the Poles and the Armistice of Riga will take its place beside that of Rethondes as one of the great details in the general world revolution which began in 1914, but has not yet reached a definitive settlement. What the truce of Rethondes and the Peace of Versailles accomplished for Western Europe, what the Treaty of St. Germain and the several other documents in the long series of settlements which marked the work of the Paris Conference accomplished for the central and southern portions of Europe and for Asia Minor, the preliminary agreement of Riga and the final treaty which must follow will doubtless establish for the North, for the states adjoining the Baltic.

In many ways this Armistice of Riga promises to be as important a step in world history for the North as was that Treaty of Oliva of the seventeenth century, which marked the end of the Swedish and Polish periods in the North and foreshadowed the rise of Prussia and of Russia. This rise, moreover, continued up to the hour when the World War overturned the whole European structure, called Poland back to life, and reduced Prussia to limits which recalled the state of the Great Elector and of Frederick the Great before the Polish Partitions.

Once more, then, as always, I am concerned in presenting to my readers the larger and more permanent aspect of the incidents of the immediate past. European history for the western nations from the hour of the end of the Thirty Years' War to the moment of the outbreak of the recent struggle, which we call the World War, and the Germans have already named the Five Years' War, has been shaped by the decisions which were registered in the Treaties of Westphalia. For the North the Treaty signed at Oliva, a tiny suburb of Danzig, had the same importance.

Now the decisions of Paris and of Riga at once assume a similar value and relation. We are seeing the undoing of two centuries and a half of history in the North along the Baltic shores. At Paris, Prussia was pushed back from the Vistula, forced to disgorge her Polish plunder in Posen, East and West Prussia and, when the plebiscite of Upper Silesia takes place she may also have to surrender that district which represented the most considerable booty of Frederick the Great in the first of his many wars of aggression against his neighbors, the Silesian War with Austria.

We are seeing thus the confounding of the work of Frederick the Great, but not less are we witnesses to the complete demolition of the equally stupendous achievements of Peter the Great for Russia. While Frederick sought to consolidate his own territories by the plunder of Poland, and to extend his kingdom by robbery of Silesian lands from Maria Theresa, Peter strove to bring

Russia in to Europe by acquiring all the Baltic façade from the Gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Niemen and thus transform a state which had been semi-Asiatic into a full European power.

The success of these two great rulers made Prussia and Russia potent forces in the eighteenth century and the dominant continental influences from the fall of Napoleon to the surrender of Germany and the collapse of the Russian Monarchy in 1918 and 1917, respectively. Associated with them, but usually as a lesser power, steadily losing in relative importance, was Austria. But to-day, while Prussia and Russia are diminished, Austria has been destroyed.

Now, as always, we have to think of the events in the North, not as separate and detached pages of history, but as details in the great drama which in the past eight years, from the First Balkan War onward, has unfolded before our eyes. That Balkan War was the first step in the long series which to the present hour has led to the total transformation of Europe east, west, north, and south. A system which filled the history and directed the policies of Europe from the moment when the Congress of Vienna overthrew the Napoleonic edifice and substantially restored that of Westphalian makings is going by the board. The Treaty of London, which marked the fall of Turkey in Europe, in 1912; the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, which confounded Austro-German policy and assured the future of Rumania, Serbia, and Greece; the various later international agreements which have marked the successive stages of the development—they are all interwoven and interrelated.

In a word, from the moment when Venizelos and his Balkan associates struck hands across the chasm of almost ageless feuds and launched their united attack upon Turkey to the present moment, when the Armistice of Riga marks the end of the Russo-Polish War of 1920, we have been seeing the downfall of one system and are now witnessing the difficult and almost hopeless endeavor of European nations and statesmen to arrive at a new system, a new balance of power, a new form of stability, which will enable a weary world to settle back and begin the work of reconstruction.

This is why the Armistice of Riga must hereafter rank with that of Rethondes. The treaty of peace which follows the truce will lay down boundaries and conditions, which, however transitory in themselves, will be the

central factors in the history of the North of Europe for a future longer than anyone can now measure. And the central fact in this new system will be the reappearance of a Poland which can easily become one of the Great Powers of Europe, one of the most important factors in the next century of European development.

## II. THE END OF THE FIGHTING

First of all, then, it is necessary to turn to the sequence of events in the Russo-Polish War itself. When I closed my last article the Poles were everywhere pushing the Russians before them, but north and south Russian armies still stood on Polish territory, and, behind the beaten armies of the Reds, Trotzky was vainly but industriously seeking to build new forces, as Carnot constructed fresh armies in the critical days of the French Revolution, when there was left to France no other resource than the vast supply of cannon fodder which the first resort to the system of national conscription made available.

In the month that has passed the advance of the Polish armies has been methodically but interruptedly continued. On the north the whole southern and eastern frontier of East Prussia has been cleared, the Poles have pressed northward across the Niemen, occupying Grodno and advancing on the road to Vilna to the halfway station of Orany, where a truce, not with the Russians, but with the Lithuanians, procured by the intervention of the League of Nations, has finally arrested their progress.

On the east similar irresistible advance has reached and passed the great lateral railway which runs by Vilna, Baranovitschi, Lounetz, Sarny, and Rowno. All of these towns, save only Vilna, excluded by the Lithuanian truce, have fallen into Polish hands, and, if the Poles have halted a few miles to the eastward of this railway, the explanation is found, not in any strengthening of Russian resistance, but in the exercise of a prudence on the Polish side which was lacking a few months ago. In a word, the Poles have carefully avoided the mistakes which almost proved fatal in July and early August.

This line, on which the Poles have now agreed to allow the pursuit of the routed Russians to terminate, represents almost exactly the limit which the Germans placed upon their great advance into Russia after their tremendous victory at the Dunajec and the successive triumphs in the spring and

summer of 1915. To-day the Poles hold all that vast and still usable system of trenches and defenses with which the Germans covered their eastern front in 1915 and which they maintained with only minor changes until the Russian Revolution abolished the eastern front altogether and gave Ludendorff his chance to make the final bid for supreme victory that Foch ruined at the Second Marne.

This line, which has been fixed at Riga as the Armistice line, has a political as well as a strategic significance, but for the moment it is the military value which must be discussed. If you look at any map of western Russia, showing the region between the Baltic and the Rumanian frontier, that is, between the Dwina and the Dniester, you will see at once that the line which I have indicated is the shortest and thus the straightest and it rests upon the two solid bases of neutral territory, that of Latvia on the north and of Rumania on the south, as the old western front rested upon the Swiss frontier on the south and the North Sea on the north from 1914 until the closing phase of the campaign of 1918, when the neutral territory of Holland replaced the North Sea as the northern limit.

Moreover, in the event that the Poles should presently retire their armies from Lithuanian territory, Lithuania would replace Latvia and the River Niemen would take the place of the Dwina as a sure cover for the Polish flank. But for the present the Poles mean to control the whole extent of the railway from Dwinsk, through Vilna, right down to Rowno, which is not far from the northern frontier of Rumania. And it is this railway which has been the determining circumstance in fixing the Riga line.

Possessing this line, which is covered by a neutral zone and by all the fixed system of the old German defenses, the Poles can move their troops behind a sure cover from north to south with great rapidity, while the absence of any corresponding railway system on the Russian side of the line deprives the Reds of any similar advantage. In addition not less than three great trunk lines coming east from Warsaw and a fourth coming east from Lemberg interest this north-and-south line at regular intervals, giving to the Poles, who will establish military bases at Grodno, Brest-Litovsk, and Lemberg, an admirable system of communications, which the Germans in their time transformed and developed with their customary genius.

Now it is essential to recall that the Armistice of Riga, like that of Rethondes, represents, not a treaty of peace, but a truce, the terms of which are imposed by a victorious contestant, but a contestant who is necessarily unwilling to interrupt the progress of his victorious armies except on terms which preclude his opponent from escaping from the consequences of defeat and renewing the war. At Rethondes the Allies fixed the Rhine as the line of temporary truce; at Riga the Poles have fixed the Dwinsk-Rowno Railway. The reasons in both cases are strategic.

To the advantage of the railway and the cover of the Dwina and Niemen rivers, the Poles add, on their present line, the further great profit incident to the fact that the Pripyat Marshes cover a very large section of their new front, giving them the protection of the one really considerable natural obstacle to military advance out of Russia in the direction of Poland.

In sum, the terms of Riga, in their military phase, are simply comprehensible. Polish armies, unlike the Allied forces after Rethondes, will not have to make long advances to reach the fixed front. In almost all cases they had arrived at that front before the fighting ceased. But the line itself, like that of the Rhine, represents the single real military front available. The final proof of this is found in the fact that it was exactly the line on which the Germans, having, like the Poles, to face a condition of numerical inferiority to the Russians, halted their great advance in 1915.

Whatever objections may be entered, and many will be on the political side, to transforming the line fixed at Riga into a final frontier between Poland and Russia, it is patent, then, that no such objections have the smallest value in the discussion of the present agreement, which represents a truce and not a treaty of peace. And, in addition, it is clear that the Poles have a far better right to demand this line than did the Allies to fix upon that of the Rhine two years ago, because, while the Allied armies were still at the Meuse and the Scheldt, the Polish armies stood at the moment of the Armistice substantially on the front at which the Riga Commissioners drew the Armistice line.

To argue that the Poles should have halted at the so-called ethnic frontier is to close one's eyes to all military considerations, for this line would have bestowed upon the Russians all the advantages of the lateral

railway communications, abolished the advantage for the Poles of the Pripyat Marshes, and left them in a hopelessly weak military position. After all, it is essential to remember always that we are dealing with a war, not with a condition in which theories and abstract principles can be safely followed by a nation yesterday on the edge of destruction and not yet completely insured against new dangers.

### III. POLITICAL FRONTIERS

Having thus dealt with the Riga line from the military aspect and as a circumstance in a war, it remains now to discuss it as the possible, even the probable, frontier between Russia and Poland for the future, since there is every prospect that, in the end, the Russians will be compelled to accept the frontiers dictated by the Poles and the Poles are likely to insist upon permanent occupation of the single really defensible line against a nation which has, from the moment of Peter the Great onward, steadily sought the extinction of Polish liberty.

We have seen all the arguments which can be advanced to support the Riga line from the military and strategic side, and they must be recognized to have bearing in any discussion of a permanent frontier, for Poland is bound to seek security. But there are two other considerations to be reckoned with—the historical and the ethnic.

On the historical side the line fixed at Riga represents the eastern frontier of Poland in 1793, that is, after the First Partition, with few modifications. In a word, the Poles now stand at the frontier which was left them on the east after Russia, Prussia, and Austria had carried through their first spoliation. Last spring, when the Poles went to Kiev, as a defensive-offensive measure, they set up the claim to the frontiers which existed prior to the first partition, that is, to the boundaries of Poland before 1772. These boundaries are substantially indicated by the Dwina and the Dnieper.

From the point of view of the patriotic Pole, to accept the Armistice line fixed at Riga is to consent to a retreat of Polish rights over a belt of territory more than 150 miles in depth and 600 or 700 in length. Possessed of this territory, which was hers for a long period and was taken from her by wanton aggression, Poland would become in area, in population, in natural wealth second only to Russia on the European Continent—far

more considerable than France, Germany, or Italy.

Nevertheless, it is plain that the Poles have recognized the folly of seeking to return to the conditions of 1772. This would involve the annexation of territory including millions of Ukrainians, White Russians, and Lithuanians, undertaking to maintain frontiers far in excess of the resources of Poland to garrison, and insuring later wars with the Russians, which in turn would certainly involve attacks on the west by German frontiers, which would, in a word, restore the old evil conditions out of which arose the Russo-Prussian policy of partition.

When one comes to the Riga line, however, the case is manifestly different. Military and historical arguments supply the Poles with an almost impregnable case, save only with respect to Lithuania, which I shall discuss in a moment. But, conceding to Lithuania the territories north of the Niemen, there remains that belt between the frontiers of Russian Poland as defined at Vienna (the "Congress Poland" of Nineteenth Century history) and the Riga line—a belt of territory several hundreds of miles long and a hundred wide, which represents a "No Man's Land" in which many races—Lithuanians, White Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews—are mingled with a strong Polish minority.

In this region Polish culture and language has always been the dominating force, and Polish political supremacy was not questioned until after the various partitions gave to the Russian despilers an obvious reason to stimulate the rivalries between the Poles and the other races. We have seen that the Riga line is strategically and historically the natural frontier for Poland. Should the ethnic principle be rigorously applied here in the face of these facts?

For the Polish claim that it should not there may be presented arguments by analogy. At Paris the Italians received the line of the Alps as their frontier, despite the fact that this gave them the Brenner region, inhabited by a third of a million of German-speaking people, and Slovene districts above Trieste, with nearly three-quarters of a million of Slav inhabitants. In the same Congress Czechoslovakia received all of the region within the natural geographic limits of this old Austrian province of Bohemia, despite the fact that this turned 3,500,000 of Germans over to the Czechs.

It is not true, then, that the ethnic prin-



SUCCESSIVE PARTITIONS OF POLAND (1772-1795)

inciple was followed slavishly at Paris, nor the consideration of history and of geography totally ignored. Further, as to this region between the Ethnic and Riga lines it remains to be said that it has been ravaged and depopulated by invasion after invasion. It has now to be resettled, and since large Polish populations have been left under alien rule and the Poles are themselves an exceedingly prolific race, it would be simple for them to repopulate the country, until recently one of large estates.

For Poland to maintain her claim to this region seems to me, then, natural, justified in history and in military considerations, and indicative of no chauvinistic or imperialistic appetite. After all there is lacking as yet any well-defined national consciousness in all this region, while the tradition remains Polish. A nation which has suffered so terribly from her neighbors in the past may be forgiven a policy which, while asking permanent possession only of what was once hers without question and has now come to her as a consequence of victory following a new war of aggression against her existence, seeks security.

But the situation as to Lithuania is manifestly different. On the historical side Lithuania was joined to Poland over long centuries by the will of her rulers, some of whom became the sovereigns of Poland. On the economic and military side a union between Lithuania and Poland would give the latter a sure outlet upon the Baltic, even if Danzig failed, a bulwark against Russian invasion from the north, and an addition of territory and population which would at

once make Poland a greater state than France.

On the other hand, the Russians and the Germans have successfully awakened the nationalistic instinct of the Lithuanians, who number at least six millions, and the Polish minority, while considerable in cities, notably in Vilna, constitutes a small fraction of the total population. Thus for Poland to seek forcibly to annex Lithuania would be to offend against the principle of nationality and to lay up for the future a burden of trouble, for both the Germans and the Russians would inevitably continue to use Lithuania as a center of intrigue.

Yet Poland cannot dissociate herself wholly from the Lithuanian question, as recent events have proved. It was through Lithuanian territory that the mass of the Red armies advanced into Poland. These found, moreover, precious assistance furnished by the sympathetic inhabitants, and when the Russian tide ebbed Lithuanian armies took the field and battled with the Poles. Retreating the Poles offered Lithuania peace and the recognition of independence and the boundaries indicated at Paris. But the Lithuanians refused to accept these boundaries and repudiated the authority of Paris, claiming for themselves territories which were on the Polish side of the Ethnic frontier as fixed at Paris.

The whole dispute has been referred to the League of Nations, whose representatives are now on the spot, and the hostilities have ceased. But the Poles, by the Armistice of Riga, have established a zone to be occupied by their troops between territory recognized by the Russians as Lithuanian and the western line of Russia as fixed at Riga. This enables the Poles to shut off all communication, not alone between the Lithuanians and the Reds, but between the Reds and the Germans, and protects Poland from a new invasion through Lithuania, like that of recent date.

Provided Lithuania establishes a real neutrality, it seems clear that Poland will have to bow to the certain decision of the League of Nations to establish Lithuania as an independent state. Doubtless the Poles will strive for some sort of federation, some union like that under the Jagellon dynasty; but this must be for the future. As it now stands, Poland will have to accept the fact of Lithuania. Moreover, it would seem that the future of Lithuania is locked up with that of Latvia and Estonia, and the single hope

of all three nations must lie in a federation which would enable them to stand against later Russian effort to restore the work of Peter the Great.

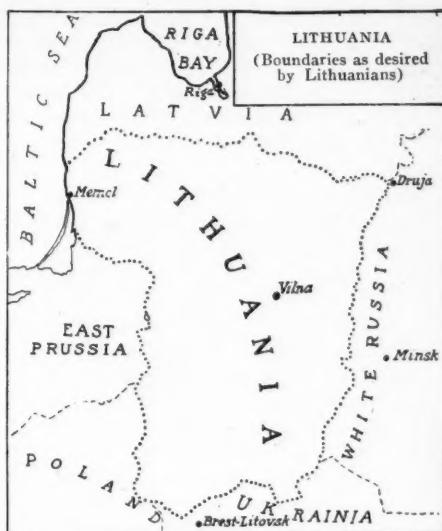
An alliance between all four of the Baltic states, Poland included, would be the single guarantee for the future; but this is to be had only if Poland renounces her historic claims and her present aspirations in the direction of Lithuania. Unhappily, British and French policies have quarreled in Lithuania, the French standing with the Poles, the British with the Lithuanians, and a perpetuation of this clash of policies can have a very disastrous effect for the future.

It would seem, however, that, apart from Lithuania, Poland would be able successfully to maintain her claim to the Riga line as her permanent eastern boundary and that we shall be able to lay down this line as one more fact in the new map of Europe which is making under our eyes.

#### IV. POLAND RENASCENT

We have, then, to consider the new Poland, which begins to emerge from the storm of six years of conflict. At Paris the frontiers with Germany were defined, save only in the case of Upper Silesia, where a forthcoming plebiscite will settle the question of German or Polish possession. The decision will be of great significance because if Poland wins, and the majority of the inhabitants are Poles, not only will Poland acquire one of the richest mineral and industrial regions in Europe, but Germany will suffer an economic disaster equal to that which came with the loss of the iron regions of Alsace-Lorraine. Since the Poles and the Czechs have settled the Teschen dispute by halving the territory and the East Prussian plebiscites have gone against the Poles, the western frontiers of Poland are thus practically determined.

Accepting the Riga line between the Niemen and Rumania as the ultimate limit of Polish sovereignty on the east, Poland emerges from the European conflagration a nation with more than 30,000,000 of inhabitants. Upper Silesia would add another two millions. She is thus a state with an area greater than that of Italy or the British Isles to-day, and containing a population greater than that of Italy at the moment of her liberation. Moreover, it is easy to see that within a brief span of years the population of Poland will exceed that of France or of Italy.



This new Poland, then, is a great fact, a fact which must be reckoned with in all European combinations. Already her defeat of the Reds has raised the hope that the Battle of the Vistula will prove as useful for Western civilization, menaced by the Reds, as that other Polish triumph over the Turk before Vienna proved, in rescuing the West, threatened with a Mohammedan incursion and conquest.

And this new Poland in the nature of things becomes at once a precious ally of France, restoring the conditions of other centuries, since it is threatened, like France, by any German restoration; for the Germans will inevitably seek to regain Posen, West Prussia, and the other Polish lands, once held by them on the east, as they are already demonstrating a purpose to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine in the west.

The Franco-Polish alliance is already made, but what effect will the common danger menacing the Rumanians and the Poles from the Russian direction have upon Rumanian policy? What effect will the common peril to Poland and Czechoslovakia coming from the German direction have upon the later relations of these states? Already we have seen the construction of the "Little Entente" between Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia, intended to insure common action against any Magyar effort to upset the adjustments of Paris.

Not impossibly, then, we shall see the gradual or rapid construction of a new system of European coalitions, in which France

and Poland will be the major factors, but most, if not all, of the smaller states of Central Europe, created or expanded by the World War, will be partners. The victory of Poland has restored the *Cordon Sanitaire* of Clemenceau, designed to enclose Bolshevik Russia and strangle the Red Power. But in this combination, Rumania was as important as Poland and if Poland has now to fear a return of Russian ambition to reconquer Poland between the Riga and ethnic lines, Rumania has equal apprehension for that Bessarabia which she holds, despite the absence of a Paris confirmation.

And Italy is concerned immediately, because she feels herself menaced by the rise of Jugo-Slavia and the determination of the Southern Slavs to gain the eastern shore of the Adriatic from Fiume to Cattaro. We have seen in recent days a real *rapprochement* between Italy and France, but this new drawing together only temporarily closes a gap opened by French support of the Slavs against the Italians.

Looking at the actual conditions in Central Europe, it will be seen that Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania and Poland are all menaced by any resumption by the Germans of their old policy of expansion toward the South and toward the East, while France, in the nature of things, is forever an object of German hostility. In the same sense all of the Central European states, save only Jugo-Slavia, is menaced by a Russian return—Poland and Rumania directly, Czechoslovakia only less immediately. Moreover, all are placed in deadly peril by any alliance between Germany and Russia, whether both are Red or reactionary.

French statesmanship, then, is bound to seek to construct out of the common dangers of all these states, a common policy, an alliance, at least defensive, such as France has already recently made with Belgium. The saving of Poland has manifestly given France, for the moment, that dominating position on the Continent of Europe, which was hers so often in the past and was only lost when Germany overthrew the Third Empire at Sedan. There lie in the pathway of the Quai d'Orsay many obvious obstacles—the undisguised distrust of Britain, the open apprehension of Italy, concerned because of her Adriatic aspirations and now, as always, a rival of France in the Mediterranean and in North Africa. But these are far less serious menaces than those which flow from the possibility of a

future alliance between Russia and Germany.

In the nature of things, however, France is systematically seeking to construct a new system of alliances on the European Continent—alliances which will give her security against a restored Germany. Her alliance with Belgium, defensive to be sure, covers her northern flank, covers the roads to Paris taken by the Germans in 1914, for Belgium has renounced neutrality and undertaken to create an army sufficient to hold German invasion with French coöperation. Her salvation of Poland has provided a nation of more than thirty millions on the eastern frontier of Germany, certain to act against the Germans if they again assail France.

Beyond this lies the possibility of the construction of an alliance made up of the new states in Central Europe, who have perils in common with France and thus have interests to be served by such a partnership. For the present the cornerstone of French policy lies in the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles, which would never have survived the defeat of the Poles.

For the future, when the terms of this settlement have been liquidated, French policy looks forward to the preservation of the system of states created at Paris, which places barriers across the pathway of German ambition and assures to France indispensable allies in case of new German bids for world power.

And in all of this Poland is the foundation stone. A new Europe is emerging with new combinations and new problems and Poland must play a great rôle in the history of the next century. In fact, it is hardly too much to say that if Poland endures, German aspirations for Continental supremacy are doomed, while for many years France will occupy a position of incalculable influence in European affairs.

## V. PRESIDENT MILLERAND

The changes of a month in France have, moreover, served to accentuate the purpose and the policy of the French nation. The resignation of President Deschanel, long foreshadowed, has opened the way for the election of Millerand, who from the hour when Clemenceau laid down the reins has been master of French politics and has with increasing success and ever-growing power conducted the intricate and difficult negotiations which are the aftermath of the war and the peace conferences.

Ordinarily election to the French Presi-

dency is in the nature of a political death sentence, comparable with election of a public man in our own country to the honorable and inconspicuous post of Vice-President. Even Poincaré, one of the strongest men to occupy the Elysée Palace, of whom much was expected, only partially escaped the traditional eclipse incident to his office. But Millerand goes to the Elysée with the determination to control and with at least a reasonable chance of succeeding in making the purpose good, and of playing a large rôle, in fact of continuing his direction of French foreign relations.

Now Millerand stands for one very clear fact in France. He is accepted as the faithful and successful advocate of the French policy of preserving and applying the Treaty of Versailles. His whole period of service since he succeeded Clemenceau has been a long battle with the British and the Italians, but above all with Lloyd George, to preserve intact that treaty which represents for France the irreducible minimum of justice for France, in view of her great sacrifices in the war.

American and British critics of French policy have again and again accused France of chauvinism and the French Government of militaristic tendencies, but the truth is that Millerand represents in many ways a liberalism far more extreme than that of Lloyd George, let alone Woodrow Wilson. Like Briand he began as a Socialist, but unlike Briand he has continued loyal to many radical doctrines, although he broke with his party to take a cabinet position many years ago.

Even before the World War he had been Minister of War and had contributed much to a reorganization of the army, which made victory just possible and when war came and with its initial defeat, it was Millerand who undertook the heavy task of Minister of War at the moment when the Germans were approaching Paris and French prospects seemed hopeless. It was the interview between Millerand and Gallieni, the statesman and the soldier, which insured the defense of Paris, by assuring the soldier of the support of the political government.

When war was over and victory came, Millerand went to Alsace-Lorraine as the first French Governor-General and in a few brief months not merely undid a long series of stupid blunders by the bureaucrats who had preceded him, but made a great forward step in the direction of restoring the old relations of the "Lost Provinces" to the

mother-country. No service of Millerand's could be greater than this.

As a consequence it was to him Clemenceau turned when he desired to lay down his great burdens and Millerand succeeded the "Tiger" at the moment when the Paris Conference had adjourned and the problem was no longer to make a treaty, but to enforce it. At this moment Millerand found himself instantly embarrassed by the fact that the United States had ceased to play any part in European affairs. The Treaty of Alliance between France, Britain and the United States, the main detail in Clemenceau's policy, had died of inanition in Washington, and France stood confronted by an insistent British demand for a modification of the Treaty of Versailles in favor of the Germans.

Against such a modification all France stood and stands in arms. At first Millerand's greatest difficulties flowed from the suspicion of his fellow-countrymen that he meant to surrender to British demands. But, while conceding where concession was inescapable, Millerand fought Lloyd George to the finish and finally risked an open break with the British by sending French troops to the east of the Rhine, when Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles by sending troops into the neutralized zone to suppress the Ruhr outbreak.

This action was decisive. Britain protested, as did Italy, but the French troops stayed until the Germans evacuated the Ruhr. Moreover, at a later moment, at Spa, Millerand succeeded in obtaining British assent to a renewal of French occupation of German territory, if the Germans should fail to carry out the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Even more shining was Millerand's success in Poland. British policy had aimed at peace with Russia. Against French wishes conversations had begun between Russians and British ministers. The defeats of the Poles aroused enthusiasm among the British labor elements, who forced Lloyd George not only to refuse to send aid to the Poles but to recognize the Russian cause as "legitimate," as a war of defense against Polish aggression. The downfall of Poland and the recognition of the Red government seemed inevitable, but Millerand sent Weygand to Poland and on the morrow of his triumph recognized Wrangel, thus checkmating Lloyd George in two directions.

The victory of the Poles re-established the Treaty of Versailles, and the Germans, who

had seen in Polish disaster the promise of their escape from the terms of the treaty, were forced to abandon hope and to begin something approaching a systematic disarmament. At the same time they changed their policy in the matter of coal deliveries and France has at last been obtaining the coal promised nearly two years ago.

After a year, then, Millerand has succeeded in establishing French policy, in removing France from the actual control of Anglo-Saxon influences, which Wilson and Lloyd George asserted at Paris. He has recognized that an American military guarantee was no longer to be had. He has seen Lloyd George, under labor pressure, more and more accepting the views of Keynes as to the Treaty of Versailles. As a consequence he has endeavored to build up a continental policy. He has made a military alliance with Belgium, has reached an amicable understanding with Italy, has preserved Poland and thus insured assistance against Germany in case of any German aggression on the west.

And now he goes to the Elysée and is succeeded as Premier by a man of his own selection, M. Georges Leygues, a man of wholly respectable parts, a useful colleague of Clemenceau in the Victory Cabinet, but not a man of great individuality and in the nature of things destined rather to follow Millerand than to strike out on an independent rôle. Indeed, while Leygues remains President of Council, Millerand is almost most certain to continue to be the directing force behind French foreign policy.

This means, of course, that France will continue to insist upon the application of the Treaty of Versailles without modification, that she will reserve the right to proceed against Germany, if Germany refuses to live up to the terms, and that French policy, while always aiming at co-operation with British, will in no sense permit itself to be controlled by British, even if differences of opinion lead to an actual break in the Anglo-French association which won the War.

## VI. BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA

And this brings me to a final observation. At Paris French policy was shaped by Clemenceau with one fact in mind. He saw in the prospective Franco-British-American alliance a sure guarantee of French security. For such a guarantee he was prepared to

pay by the sacrifice of some French aspirations and not a little French prejudice against the League of Nations. The Treaty of Versailles represented, in the sacrifices France made on the Rhine, the price which Clemenceau paid for Anglo-American guarantees and the general settlement of Paris represented an Anglo-American arrangement made with French consent and participation which was paid for by the treaty of insurance.

But President Wilson's defeat at home, the refusal of the Senate to accept the treaty without reservations and the incidental failure of the President, for similar reasons, to press the Anglo-French guarantee destroyed the hopes and brought to nothing the policy of Clemenceau. America definitely retired from European affairs and France found herself deprived of any American protection against Germany, although, counting on this protection, she had sacrificed military considerations along the Rhine.

Not only this, but British military guarantees were contingent upon American, and Lloyd George made no move to assure the French of British aid, despite American defection. On the contrary, obedient to British sentiment, he began a deliberate campaign to secure a modification of the terms of the German treaty, which meant in reality a reduction of French indemnities and at the same time sought to make peace with Red Russia, without obtaining any promise of the repayment of the billions borrowed by Russia of France before the war.

Perforce France found herself obliged to seek a new pathway. There was no hope from America, therefore no reason to make concessions to American sentiment which involved French sacrifices. Great Britain, on her part, no longer promised security to France, but systematically labored to bring about the economic rehabilitation of Germany, while Germany remained a menace to France and refused to comply with the terms of Versailles. This is the story of the last year. This is the meaning of the many moves and conflicts of a diplomatic character between London and Paris.

Had Poland succumbed—and British sympathy in liberal and labor quarters was all with Russia—France would have been compelled to accept British policy or stand alone and helpless. She would have been the more helpless since Italy struck hands with Great Britain in the hope of obtaining British support for her own Adriatic aspirations, as well as because of the need of

getting coal and oil from British sources. Peace with Russia, involving the recognition of the Reds and the loss of French millions, a modification of the Treaty of Versailles, involving a vast reduction in French indemnities—these would have been inescapable consequences of Polish collapse.

But Polish success gives France an ally against Germany, while by recognizing Wrangel and, not impossibly, by lending him Weygand and other French generals later, France paves the way to friendly relations with a Russian leader who may conceivably succeed in overturning the Reds and restoring Russia to health and strength. If as a consequence of French support of the Poles and of French aid to Wrangel, Lenin and Trotzky are overthrown and Russia restored, France may yet find a friend in Russia, as she had an ally before the Russian Revolution. In a word, as the Labor and liberal elements in Great Britain are backing the Red government and will see their country benefit politically and economically if the Red Régime persists, so France is backing the anti-Reds and the success of Wrangel will give France the advantage in Russia.

So far French policy has in the main succeeded. The Treaty of Versailles stands with only measurable modifications. In addition, Secretary Colby's letter to the Italians supplied French policy in the case of Red Russia with an extraordinarily useful backing at a critical moment. But this policy involves a separation from the British; it involves the deliberate pursuit by France of objectives which are not favored by the British and, indeed, awaken violent British criticism in many quarters.

Had the United States and Great Britain actually made good on the promised military guarantee, such a course by France would have been both unnecessary and unlikely. But henceforth French policy must follow the lines already indicated. Germany is now substantially unarmed. She is incapable of offering serious military resistance to French armies, if they invade German territories as a result of German failure to live up to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

In addition, France can summon Polish armies to pass Germany's eastern frontiers in such a case, and Poland has every reason to seek to complete the liberation of old Polish territories, above all to obtain free access to the sea by abolishing the Danzig

compromise, which has demonstrated its weakness. Moreover, France has every reason to support Poland's claims in the east, so far as they are reasonable, because a strong Poland is a great gain for France.

France is, then, in a position henceforth to pursue her own ends without regard to the United States, which has retired, or to Great Britain, who has failed to give any definite guarantee to France against Germany. French policy was established by the Polish victory and it will be rendered impregnable if Wrangel, with French aid, succeeds in overthrowing the Reds, for any such success will be due to French policy, to Millerand's policy, which consistently opposed Lloyd George's course in seeking to enter into economic relations with the Reds.

The British campaign, in which Keynes played so large a part, the effort to secure the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, thus falls to the ground. France is strong enough now, so far as Germany is concerned, to deal with her old enemy alone, even if both British and American troops are withdrawn, and she can draw upon Poland for enough troops to replace both slender contingents. Actually France acquires now with respect to Germany something of the position which Germany occupied toward France after the Franco-Prussian War, when France was prostrate.

In my judgment this fact will dominate the progress of events for a long time to come. Unless there is change far more complete than any one can imagine, all of France will remain united in a policy of enforcing the Treaty of Versailles and no outside influence, either German or otherwise, can avail to block such a policy. Polish victory in reality means the ascendancy of France upon the European continent. Nothing is permanent, but obviously time will be necessary to create a system of balance and checks. Meantime the victory of the Vistula reveals French military genius as still supreme in the world of arms.

What this means for Germany and for Russia is plain. For Germany it means a long period of economic subserviency. It means either the payment to France of the costs assessed by the court of the world at Paris or rebellion, which means domestic revolution and French occupation. For Russia it means a continuation of the struggle between the Reds and their enemies, it means the guarantee of French support and recognition for the leaders, who like Wrangel are

opposing the Red rule. And in case of the success of Wrangel or some other anti-Red leader, it means establishing a large debt of gratitude to France as the deliverer.

But in the same way it means an ever-growing cleavage between French and British policy. It foreshadows another British relapse to the policy of isolation, wholly comparable with that which to them followed the Napoleonic Wars and for us has already followed the World War. Nor does it promise any immediate resuscitation of the idea of the League of Nations, for France has found in this Anglo-Saxon idea neither security nor yet sympathy for her purposes or her sufferings.

I do not mean that France and Great Britain will become enemies. I do not mean that we have next to contemplate the possibility of another Anglo-French war or a return to the old rivalries which preceded Fashoda. What I do mean is that at Paris the United States and Great Britain undertook to establish a new system of world relations and France, in return for certain specific benefits, agreed to become a partner in the system. But the system having failed to function, France has resumed her freedom of action and means to pursue her national objectives without regard to the Anglo-Saxon conception of Paris.

All of which amounts to repeating what I have so often said here and elsewhere, that the Continent of Europe is going back to its old methods, which are themselves the product of its conditions and the fruit of its long history. The rebirth of Poland restores conditions which existed before the rise of Russia and Prussia. It inevitably brings back the old Franco-Polish association of other times. It promotes new alliances and revives ancient associations. It creates a Baltic question to take the place of the Balkan. It throws Prussia back of the position of William II to that of Frederick the Great. But under all the confusion we can see the gradual development of a new system, a new balance of power, which is the single form of stability the Continent has yet known or believed in since Rome fell.

I had hoped in this article to deal with the Italian situation and the significance of

the return of Giolitti, but the Polish and French questions have exhausted my space, and I shall postpone the Italian topic until next month. Still it is interesting to note now, that in Italy, as in Great Britain, we are seeing the enormous increase of power of the radical and socialistic elements, while in France there is manifest a reaction toward conservative influences.

More than this, in Russia, the conservative influence of France and the radical tendencies of Italy and Britain are obviously engaged in a struggle. The success, that is, the permanent survival, of the Reds will almost surely mean the similar success of the radical elements in Germany and the isolation of France as the single stronghold of conservatism on the Continent.

By contrast, if French influences prevail and Russia overthrows the Reds, it is far from improbable that Russia and Germany will presently escape from extreme economic radicalism. The foreign policy of Italy, like that of Great Britain, is now practically controlled, particularly with respect to Russia, by the extreme radicalism of the Socialists and the Labor groups, who openly sympathize with Lenin and Trotzky.

Had Poland fallen she would have been sovietized and her fall would have opened a road for the Reds into Germany and beyond. But the larger social struggle remains. It will perhaps survive the overthrow of Bolshevism in Russia and it is patently quite as important as the political and military circumstances in the making up of any estimate of the present conditions in Europe. Nor can one fail to remark the odd circumstances that whereas, a century ago, all Europe was united against the radicalism of France and the doctrines of the French Revolution, France now stands almost the single unshaken stronghold of conservatism, against the radicalism of the Continent, and, for that matter, of the British Isles. And hardly less striking is the fact that the United States, with France the first home of democratic principles and of a republican form of government, is now, quite as much, perhaps even more than France, a bulwark against radicalism, whether Russian or otherwise.

# WHAT IS BOLSHEVISM?

BY RICHARD T. ELY

(Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin)

THERE is no mystery about either the nature or the intellectual authorship of Bolshevism. It is simply Marxian socialism, as Lenin and his associates have told us innumerable times. The fundamental ideas are found in the *Communist Manifesto*, given to the world by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848 as the platform of a German workingmen's association called the Communist League. But although two names appear as the authors of the *Communist Manifesto*, no one doubts the authorship of Marx, so far as the "substance of doctrine" is concerned. Indeed, in his preface to the authorized English translation, Engels says this: "The 'Manifesto' being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus belongs to Marx. That proposition is that in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch. . . ." In the *Manifesto* itself we find the following: "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations, and in his social life?"<sup>1</sup> This theory is the basis of the materialistic interpretation of history.

## Marxian Socialism, Pure and Simple

Many of us have been toying with the ideas of the *Manifesto*, amusing ourselves with them as intellectual playthings; but in Russia these ideas have long been kept under cover and have not been allowed to stand the shaking up, the abrasion, the reshaping, and replacement of free discussion; and in subterranean refuges they have taken wild,

anomalous shapes. Above all, they have been regarded very seriously; frequently as a religion; and for religions, false as well as true, men have gladly died. Marxian socialism in Russia is socialism in action.

The materialistic theory of economic evolution was considered by Engels and the Marxist socialists as one of the greatest discoveries of all time, and in their opinions, to use the words of Engels, was "destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology." This theory is an evolutionary one and makes one stage necessarily follow another in human history. We pass from feudalism to capitalism, and finally, as the advocates of this theory say, to socialism. Capitalism means the modern industrial stage in which capital enables us to use the vast forces of nature in production—in which wealth in the form of capital, rather than in the form of land, becomes the dominant economic force. Those who own capital and control capitalistic production are the bourgeoisie, and the *Communist Manifesto* describes in the following words not lacking in a certain crude eloquence, the achievement of this economic class:

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, applications of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?<sup>2</sup>

In one respect, then, the Russians have departed from the *Communist Manifesto*, because Russia did not first develop modern industry or capitalism and then pass over to the stage of socialism. Socialists, even of the Marxist type, although now acclaiming Bolshevism with approval, will, after its collapse, undoubtedly say that socialism has not

<sup>1</sup>Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick. *Manifesto of the Communistic Party* (Authorized English translation). Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1888, pp. 42-3.

had a fair trial in Russia because the evolutionary process has been unduly expedited; in other words, the change has been a forced change; but Lenin, the high priest of Bolshevism, says that the time was ripe in Russia, that conditions had then made the wage-earning proletariat ready for the change. Marx, like Lenin, believed in a dictatorship of the proletariat, and to the one as to the other, any thought of democracy and free consent of the governed was quite alien. The proletariat had become "class-conscious" and it seized the power because it could. The Russian Bolsheviks, having the might to effect a socialist revolution, acted as true Marxists in overthrowing the old order and ushering in Bolshevism.

Socialism, or Communism, as Marx and Engels called it in the *Manifesto*, purposely adopting the more radical term, or Bolshevism, as by accident it is called in Russia, means the replacement of private property in land and capital by common ownership and of private management of production by collective management. This is what, through the dictatorship, has been attempted in Russia; and the outstanding features of the experiment give evidence as to its natural outcome that is conclusive enough to be a warning to civilization for ages to come.

#### *Declining Production*

On the economic side, we have seen a steady decline in production with growing impoverishment, until starvation stalks abroad in the land. We need not concern ourselves with minute details and attempt to show decline in production in percentages. The reports even of friendly observers show a steady decrease in production, and a growing destruction of the past accumulations of a more civilized, even if deplorably debased and autocratic, society.

We may turn to the recent apologetic report of the British Labor Delegation to Russia, as printed in the *Nation* of September 25 of this year. The Delegation says: "Various methods have been tried to stimulate production, which had fallen to 'almost a catastrophe' owing to (1) the want of qualified workers and technicians; (2) weak labor discipline of the workmen; and (3) the abolition of piece work." And in another place: "We certainly did witness a widespread breakdown in the transport system with deplorable economic consequences, and we saw terrible evidence of underfeeding and suffering."

Naturally the apologists seek for some explanation external to Bolshevism itself, and emphasize as the cause "the iniquitous policy of intervention and blockade," but all reports of friend and foe alike show that the first and chief causes are to be sought in fatal defects in the organization of industry and in the suppression of capable leadership by the removal of the incentives and scope to talent furnished by modern capitalism. Other nations have suffered blockade and intervention, and with a far more restricted territory and far fewer natural gifts have never fallen so low in economic efficiency. We may cite Germany as an example. Can any sane man imagine such a collapse of civilization if Russia, with its vast area and natural riches, had been inhabited by the Germans, and they had been living in the stage of modern capitalism—even with blockade and intervention operating against them? All sorts of explanations may be given, some of them containing elements of truth, but history will record one clear, outstanding verdict, and that is the failure of Marxian Socialism in Russia, rightly called by John Spargo, "The Greatest Failure in All History," and by another writer, in a review of William English Walling's "Sovietism," the "Super-Fraud" of the ages. It is worse than war—it is hell beyond compare!

#### *Economic Chaos*

Failure after failure marks the successive steps in the downward course of Russia under Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks wanted collective property in land and collective management. They robbed the old land-owners and stopped the sane and very remarkable land reform then in progress, but by turning land over to the peasants they have merely strengthened the class that adheres to private ownership. Yet the peasant proprietors do not enjoy the full blessings of private property in land, because, rightly, they feel insecure in their titles. When the peasant becomes rich, will not a poor peasant seek to dispossess him? When robbery begins, when and where will it stop? But that is not all. Bolshevism having paralyzed industry, the people in the cities have nothing to exchange for what the peasants produce except worthless paper, and of that the peasant has had enough. So we have forced requisitions of food supplies and raw materials by the government, that are resisted by the peasants, and we have illicit trade and the wildest

profiteering, all contrary to law and the fundamental principles of Bolshevism. The thing has broken down, and we have chaos.

The Bolsheviks prated of liberty, of breaking the shackles of autocracy, etc. They have destroyed the old autocracy, the sins of which cried to high heaven. But, after all, under the old autocracy there was some freedom of movement for the vast majority of people; there was art, and art of a high order, for Russian music and Russian painting achieved triumphs recognized in all lands; there was, in short, a civilization, crude, imperfect, but producing many men and women of a fine type. What have we now? Autocracy has followed autocracy, and the worst autocracy the world has ever known is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### *The Russian "Terror" of To-day*

Strange it is that among those who pose as pacifists in international affairs, who stand aloof and even raise loud voices of protest when we are fighting for our choicest possessions against foreign attacks, we find many who look with complacency upon the most cruel of modern civil wars; strange, that those who prate about free speech when traitorous talk at home is suppressed, are calmly complacent and full of excuses when Russian usurpers of authority relentlessly hunt down, imprison and shoot those who dare to differ from the official views of the dictators. Terror reigns in Russia, but our own ultra-radicals raise no voice of protest. The following is taken from the already quoted Report of the British Labor Delegation to Russia:

Personal freedom, together with freedom of speech and of propaganda (including newspapers, the issue of election literature, and the holding of meetings), is severely repressed in the case of all those whose activities are supposed to threaten the Soviet régime. The means now used are far less severe than those used when foreign invasion, civil war, and internal conspiracy were at their height—"The Terror," as they are called by Communists themselves. But "the Terror" has left its traces behind it in the form of a pervading fear which is expressed on all hands, a fear sometimes more vague and sometimes more definite, that any expression of opinion adverse to the dominant party will be treated as "counter-revolutionary," and will lead to imprisonment or some kind of penalization. This fear is kept alive by the fact that arrests constantly take place for alleged political offenses. The definition of such offenses is dangerously wide, closely resembling, in fact, the definitions adopted in our own Defense of the Realm Act, and the numerous orders made un-

der it. The fear above alluded to is evoked especially by the Extraordinary Commission, a body independent of the ordinary courts, acting upon no definite code of law, and controlled by a "collegium" consisting of members of the Communist Party.

The main reason given for these methods of government is the dangerous situation created by foreign attacks, and the maintenance and encouragement of internal conspiracy by foreign agents. An overwhelmingly "strong" government is thought to be necessary, because the mass of the people, though passively supporting the Soviet government, are not yet sufficiently "conscious" to be immune from counter-revolutionary influences.

All possible means are used to secure the dominance of the Communist Party in the elections to Soviets. The actual congresses of Soviets are large and unwieldy bodies, and the power tends to be concentrated in the hands of executive committees and praesidiums. Elections become less frequent and more formal, and the party aims by means of organized groups at controlling every department and every institution of the national life.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Marx Preached Autocracy*

It may surprise some to find that the Bolsheviks have simply carried into effect Marx's ideas and that in the *Communist Manifesto* there is no trace of democracy. The following quotations from the *Communist Manifesto* make it clear that Marx preached the doctrine of physical force, bloody suppression of opponents, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are all taken from the "Authorized English Translation," edited and annotated by Frederick Engels.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production. . . .

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

<sup>1</sup>From article, "The British Labor Delegation to Russia," in *The Nation*, September 25, 1920.

6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, (sic) especially for agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

A little later in the *Manifesto* it is stated "peaceful means . . ." are "necessarily doomed to failure," and then the *Manifesto* closes with these words:

The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time. . . .

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite!<sup>2</sup>

These ideas and phrases are found again and again in the official proclamations of the Russian Bolsheviks, and show them to be true Marxian Socialists who have absorbed the doctrines of the *Communist Manifesto* and made them part of their consciousness. As our ideas, according to Bolshevism, are a product of the present bourgeois economic order, they have no validity in themselves. There are no eternal verities. God and religion are treated with lofty scorn as products of our methods of production and exchange, and as received by civilized societies, in their opinion, are used as opiates to keep the masses quiet and, if possible, contented under their exploitation. The Ten Commandments have been regarded by those hitherto deemed wise men as a triumph of civilization, because they give us certain fundamental forms of behavior upon which we act spontaneously, leaving our conscious energies free for further moral advancement. Bolshevism simply "scraps" them as bourgeois products and tools.

#### Bolshevist Ideas of Marriage and the Family

There has been some controversy about the nationalization of women in Russia. It is beside the point. Marriage itself, as we

know it, according to their ideas, is simply a product of economic production and exchange. It has no sacred character—again and again this is emphasized in the *Communist Manifesto*. Perhaps nothing in the *Communist Manifesto* is made more pronounced by reiteration. The following are passages quoted from that document:

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.<sup>3</sup>

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.<sup>4</sup>

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident, that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i. e., of prostitution both public and private.<sup>5</sup>

And turning from the *Communist Manifesto* to a modern advanced thinker, let us quote from a recent article by Bertrand Russell which appeared in the *New Republic* (September 15, 1920):

The war came, leading to the employment of women in industry on a large scale, and instantly the arguments in favor of votes for women were seen to be irresistible. More than that, traditional sexual morality collapsed, because its whole basis was the economic dependence of women upon their fathers and husbands. . . .

Such facts as these justify Marxians in speaking, as they do, of "bourgeois ideology," meaning that kind of morality which has been imposed upon the world by the possessors of capital. Contentment with one's lot may be taken

<sup>1</sup>The Communist Manifesto, pp. 44-46.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup>The Communist Manifesto, p. 41.

as typical of the virtues preached by the rich to the poor. They honestly believe it is a virtue—at any rate they did formerly. The more religious among the poor also believed it, partly from the influence of authority, partly from an impulse to submission, which is commoner than some people think. Similarly men preached the virtue of female chastity, and women usually accepted their teaching; both really believed the doctrine, but its persistence was only possible through the economic power of men. This led erring women to punishment here on earth, which made further punishment hereafter seem probable. When the economic penalty ceased, the conviction of sinfulness gradually decayed. In such changes we see the collapse of "bourgeois ideology."

The Russian Constitution provides for free marriage, free divorce, granting a delay of three months, if one of the parties objects; and for those who wish it provides state care of children. What more could the most radical desire?

#### *American Democracy Versus Russian Bolshevism*

Let us now contrast American democracy with Russian Bolshevism to bring out the diverse nature of the two and to make it perfectly clear that Bolshevism is no evolution of democracy into a higher form, but something radically, fundamentally different and irreconcilably antagonistic.

The ideal of American democracy is to lift up and not to pull down. Nothing can be found in our early constitutions and in our early democratic documents which would suggest that there prevailed in our country the idea of pulling down those higher up simply to secure equality with those lower down.

On the other hand, when we read the documents of the Bolsheviks and follow their action, we find envy and malignity expressed in the suppression of superiority. Equality is exalted in theory, and those who are pulled down to inferiority heretofore have stood high. But as an old writer has it, "If you thrust Nature out with a pitchfork she will return." We have a new ruling class of superiors far worse than the old.

Democracy means faith, if it means anything. Our early documents and the present utterances of our great leaders show that. Democracy means belief in men and love of men—not of some men or of some economic classes. Democracy is inspired by the enthusiasm of humanity and not by the enthusiasm for particular economic classes. Democracy believes in spiritual forces, and it

believes they may guide and direct the material forces. It believes that the spiritual forces should, and may, and can guide and direct the material forces. It does not believe in any Utopian fashion. It does not believe that a man can retire into a room, shut all doors and evolve processes of democracy whereby the spiritual forces shall be in control. But it believes that we may gain a knowledge of the material forces, and through this knowledge of material forces we may guide and direct them to the purposes of democracy. Democracy appeals to man's higher motives. Democracy means this: That right must make might. It means that right must control the forces of nature and of society. That is the distinction between modern democracy and Utopianism. We cannot practice quietism and fold our hands and govern the world with pious aspirations. Modern democracy means that right can control might—that might must be back of right. That is a new note in democracy—at any rate, it is a note that distinguishes democracy from the earlier aspirations of pacifism. Modern democracy means, we may say, a crusade, like the religious crusades. It is a kind of religion.

#### *President Wilson's Vision*

However much and however radically we may differ with President Wilson over many of his actions and over some of his utterances, may we not, nevertheless, find in his words, when at their best, noble expressions of the meaning of democracy in a form so perfect that they are bound to take their place among the world's classics? May we not then quote one or two passages in which we find expression given to the ideal of democracy, in order by contrast to throw light upon Bolshevism? The following quotation is taken from a speech given in Carlisle, England, September 29, 1918:

I believe as this war has drawn nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force, we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as swords.

The knowledge that wrong has been attempted has aroused the nations. They have gone out like men for a crusade. No other cause could have drawn so many of the nations together. They knew an outlaw was abroad and that the outlaw purposed unspeakable things.

It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces are accumulated that presently will overpower any attempt to accomplish

evil on a great scale. It is like the rivulet that gathers into the river and the river that goes to the sea. So there comes out of communities like these streams that fertilize the consciences of men, and it is the conscience of the world we now mean to place upon the throne which others tried to usurp.

*The Bolshevik Dictum: Might Makes Right*

Certainly the documents of Bolshevism have no tone at all resembling that. Democracy believes all things, hopes all things; it is generous and magnanimous. It trusts people—trusts the masses. It goes so far in trusting that sometimes we find it following methods that do not lead to desired results—sometimes a trust has to be withdrawn in part, temporarily. Bolshevism means might makes right—the might of the proletariat, the might of the men who are workers, but who have not accumulated property. Bolshevism seizes power and uses it ruthlessly. They employ this expression in their documents, "the ruthless suppression of exploiters." In the "Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People," published in *The Nation* (New York), December 28, 1918, they describe it as follows:

Taking as its fundamental task the abolition of any exploitation of man by men, the complete elimination of the division of society into classes, the ruthless suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a socialistic organization of society and the victory of Socialism in all countries. . . .

And suppression has been ruthless. Men have been slain as they were not slain by the autocracy of the Czar. Bolshevism's foundations are laid in selfishness and in opportunistic expediency, without regard to established morality. It is a government of a class—not democratic, but autocratic.

Let us see what is the idea of democracy as it finds expression in the words of Woodrow Wilson, which have received such a warm welcome among the nations of the world:

Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups in a common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage.

I would be willing to set that up as a final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. (From an address, "What Democracy Means," delivered before the American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, Nov. 12, 1917.)

*Class Government*

Bolshevism fears to trust the people and gives the vote and arms to a *part* of the

people while it deprives the rest of votes and arms. The following is from the "Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People":

II—Section 5. In the interest of securing all the power for the laboring masses and the elimination of any possibility of the reestablishment of the power of the exploiters, the arming of the toilers, the formation of a socialistic red army of workmen and peasants, and the complete disarmament of the wealthy classes are decreed.

This is emphasized by iteration and reiteration, as is seen with the following quotation from the Russian Constitution, Article I, Chapter 2, Section 9: . . . "for the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed."

Chapter 4, Sec. 7. "The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters cannot hold a position in any branch of the Soviet Government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies."

The narrowness of their utterances and their undemocratic character is seen in this—that they have this limited and false view of production. They use the word "toilers" only in a narrow and restricted sense:

Article II, Chapter 5, Section 9, of the Constitution: "For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defence of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties."

Contrast these utterances with the Federal Constitution, which says that all men may carry arms. This is faith in all, belief in all; but Bolshevism is distrust of all except the laboring classes. Those that toil for wages are to be armed, and others are to be disarmed.

Take the right to vote, as a further illustration of the contrast between Bolshev-

vism and American democracy. The Bolsheviks use high-sounding words about the interests of all, but they give control only to certain classes. Article IV, Chapter 13, reads:

The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i.e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc.; and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2: Non-citizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

b. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarmerie corps and the Okhrana (Czar's secret service); also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offences, for the period fixed by the sentence.

#### *Contrast with the Virginia Bill of Rights*

How great is the contrast between that and the principles of the typically progressive American democratic government, as expressed in the Virginia Bill of Rights, Section 6: "All men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interests and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage."

In Section 15 of that bill (but we find the same thing in our other Bills of Rights) we read: "No free government or the bless-

ings of liberty can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

Contrast that with the documents of the Bolsheviks. Where have they temperance? where moderation? where justice? where is frugality indicated as a necessary measure? They reduce the age of attaining the political majority to the eighteenth year. That shows a lack of moderation, a lack of consideration, because by the eighteenth year people have not acquired that broad view, that maturity of judgment, that moderation and self-control which, taking them altogether, one by one, would entitle them to the ballot. Can we say it is in the interests of society that those young people of eighteen should have the ballot? It is provided by Bolshevism that the age may be reduced still lower. Does not this show an absence of those qualities which were emphasized, even in the time of our great Revolution, perhaps the most democratic period of our history?

#### *True Democracy Does Not Break with the Past*

Now, let us take another thing—the idea of historical continuity. We have surely progressed far enough in our knowledge of society to know that progress must be evolutionary; in other words, that historical continuity must be preserved. And that idea we find expressed in the documents of American democracy even in the period of revolution itself. It might be supposed that our forefathers, at the time they were engaged in the revolution, would have forgotten the significance of historical continuity—would have supposed that we could entirely break with the past, as the Bolsheviks are doing. Not at all. They preserved this continuity and to such an extent that many radicals—most radicals—have held this up for reproach. Our forefathers took over the Common Law; they paid the public debt incurred in the Revolution. We stood for that. Debts were incurred by the States in times of weakness and during the Confederation. These debts were paid. We did not break with the past. We preserved faith. We have not repudiated, as a nation, our debts. There has been some repudiation in some of the southern States. This was most unfortunate, even if the result of abnormal and unprecedented circumstances, and has injured their credit. It did not ac-

cord with the true traditions of Americanism.

American democracy has stood for this idea of historical continuity and of keeping faith with those who have trusted us. We have kept faith in the bargains we have made, even when those who have represented us have not been true representatives. We have said, "They have represented us, and it is our fault if we have chosen unworthy representatives."

Contrast that with Bolshevism, which repudiates past obligations, discards the idea of historical continuity, believes in the repudiation of all debts. The following are passages where the Bolsheviks express this idea of repudiation—breaking of faith:

The Constituent Assembly views the Soviet law of the repudiation of the loans contracted by the Government of the Czar, the landowners and bourgeoisie, as the first blow to international banking, finance and capital, and expresses its confidence that the Soviet authority will continue to pursue that course until the complete victory of the rising of international labor against the yoke of capital is attained. (III—2.)

To effect the socialization of the land, private ownership of land is abolished, and the whole land fund is declared common national property and transferred to the laborers without compensation, on the basis of equalized use of the soil. (II—1.)

All forests, minerals, and waters of state-wide importance, as well as the whole inventory of animate and inanimate objects, all estates and agricultural enterprises, are declared national property. (II—1.)

So, throughout this Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring People and the Constitution—all the way through—runs this idea of breaking faith—of breaking with the past, of discarding this idea of historical continuity.

Contrast again our democratic utterances. Take the Virginia Bill of Rights, Section 6:

That private property ought to be subservient to public uses when necessity requires it; nevertheless, whenever any particular man's property is taken for the use of the public, the owner ought to receive the equivalent in money.

Few people fully appreciate the marvelous arrangements in our American constitutional system, whereby all the economic changes demanded by progress can be made peacefully and with a minimum amount of suffering, and that widely diffused. Rights of private property are safeguarded by being made constitutional, but we have developed the doctrine of police power, whereby private property rights may be modified and shaped

in accordance with the changing needs of each new period in our development. This gives flexibility to the idea of property itself, but, if any particular kinds of private property, or any pieces of private property, or any special rights, do not correspond to an existing situation, they may be condemned and compensation given to the owners of the property rights in question. Then by means of taxation the sacrifice involved in a change may be diffused throughout society and those who are deprived of their property have to pay their share of the burden involved in the transformation of property rights. In other words, as taxpayers they must help buy their own property. Our principle is that social burden must be socially borne.

Next take the contrast in the ideas held in regard to punishment. There have been many cruelties practised; much suffering and many hangings are going on in Russia. Take what is said in the Virginia Bill of Rights, Sections 8 and 9: "No excessive bail, excessive fines, cruel or unjust punishment." This shows a regard for the life of all, an endeavor to prevent cruelty and needless suffering.

Take once more the Virginia Declaration of Rights. It states that religion is a private matter, and concludes with this: "It is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love and charity toward each other." There is not the faintest trace of this kind of thought in Bolshevism. Such words are treated with the utmost scorn by Lenin and Trotzky. Consult Washington in his "Farewell Address":

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

Could there be a greater contrast between Bolshevism and American democracy as seen in their respective documents? One

points heavenward; the other points hellward.

What then is the danger of Bolshevism—the menace of Bolshevism to the democracy of the world? Perhaps in certain of its aspects it is not so generally understood as it should be. We ought to consider the necessary conditions of life in the kind of world in which we live; and we ought to consider the struggle which it has taken us during centuries and centuries to achieve our present position—the present degree of civilization.

### *A Menace to Our Civilization*

There is a great deal of grief in this world, necessarily—that is the kind of world that exists; it cannot be otherwise. There is a certain conflict of interests, not limited to economic affairs. It is pointed out in the Ten Commandments. There are necessarily differences among men. We appreciate these differences now better than formerly, because they have been established on a thoroughly scientific foundation. We know from history and from the nature of the world in which we live that improvement must be gradual and always has been gradual, slow. There has always been a great deal of sorrow and misunderstanding even when progress has been most rapid. Through the ages men have learned to submit to the necessary conditions of economic life. It is one of the great accomplishments of custom as has been pointed out by Bagehot and no one has treated this subject better.

We have established customs in order that men may live together and work together, and one of the very first steps in the advancement of civilization has been to establish certain customs which men follow more or less instinctively, because these customs have become a very part of their nature. There has been a great deal of harshness and cruelty in the establishment of customs, but customs are absolutely necessary in the development of sound human relationships. During the ages, law has helped to establish certain principles of action and of conduct, and religion has come in to help men to act in accordance with the conditions of human life.

Religion as we know it, religion of democracy, is never opposed to progress, but at the same time it enjoins a contentment with our lot. It teaches us to strive to achieve, but to be content with our lot, having done our best. That contributes to human happiness more than anything else. That is the teach-

ing, for example, of the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church, as it is a part of the teaching of all the religious expressions in various Christian bodies. Now,—the Prayer Book is used simply by way of illustration, and it must not be misinterpreted—the Prayer Book enjoins the child to be content with the position to which it shall please God to call Him. It is often quoted, "It hath pleased God." But the Prayer Book doesn't say that; it says "shall." So there is nothing in that which is opposed to aspiration, but there is this idea of contentment and patience and long-suffering, and at the same time this idea of aspiration, which forms a part of religion as we know it in democracy; whereas Bolshevism throws over the Ten Commandments, the ideas of keeping faith and of patience with one's hard lot. Men are filled with the hope of attaining the absolutely impossible and throw overboard what has been accomplished during centuries of toil and suffering. So we see why it is that we are in such danger from Bolshevism—a menace to those things that have been accomplished during all these centuries of toil and suffering.

Modern civilization is a civilization that is constantly improving and gives ever-increasing hope, and hope provides incentives to men. Private property in land and capital are its economic foundations. The young man who toils successfully, who is temperate and thrifty may with reason anticipate the ownership of capital and of a piece of land. The goal stimulates him, and to deprive him of the anticipated reward would destroy his ambition and deprive him of joy in achievement. We have something to look forward to in our society, whereas Bolshevism means a future of despair ever increasing as the true nature of Bolshevism becomes increasingly revealed.

### *Radicalism in America*

Some tell us that Bolshevism is not something to be dreaded in America, because prosperity is so general and property so widely diffused. More than this can be said. Those who know the American people know that we will fight to the last ditch to preserve our civilization. No, Bolshevism will never conquer us, but it is, nevertheless, a most serious menace, and one that we cannot disregard with impunity. It is a product of social disease germs which are spreading a pestilence over the world.

If anyone doubts the existence of ultra-radicalism as a pestilence in this country and

is not convinced by the Wall Street explosion, let him attend radical meetings held every Sunday in our great cities. You may go to Chicago and find law-breaking systematically lauded and "comrades in jail" held up as heroes. You may listen to diatribes against America and be told that in no country are workingmen so badly treated as in our own land. You could have heard all of this last summer, and then at the close of the meeting you could have heard the men present urged to contribute largely for their comrades in prison, with the suggestion that it was customary to put \$5 in the basket; and, as a matter of fact, you could have seen these poor men, "worse treated than any others in the world," put many a five-dollar bill into the collection.

We must fight Bolshevism with repressive measures when it becomes criminal, and we must fight it with positive, constructive measures. Every evil in our social and economic life is a weakness exposing us to attack; every improvement we make strengthens the foundations of our civilization. Those who oppress men and those who wrong others in their transactions are aids to Bolshevism and are its agents.

#### *Constructive Progress*

Our industrial relations leave much to be desired, although they have been improved. Employers are coming more and more to realize their obligations. For many years preachers of righteousness have been telling us that those who have wealth must regard it as a trust, and that those who are in the seats of the mighty, as employers or otherwise, must regard themselves as stewards of society, accountable for what they have. While we cannot forget the high praise due to the leaders of labor and the men in the ranks who have stood up manfully against

Bolshevism in all its guises, without whom civilization could not have been saved in the great World War, we feel that labor, too, has its lessons to learn and is not so fully conscious as it should be that with rights go duties. The man who does not do his best in whatever position he finds himself loses in the long run in his economic opportunities, but more than that he loses in character.

Sometimes it is discouraging that the extremists seem to gain the ear of the public and to receive a support denied to those who take that sane middle ground which Aristotle called virtue, and without which democracy cannot survive. Land and labor are the two great original agents of production. More has been done to improve labor conditions than to improve the conditions under which private property in land is bought, sold and held. One has only to contrast the gross exaggerations in regard to the condition of labor as stated in the *Communist Manifesto* with present conditions to appreciate the immense distance we have traveled in improvement of conditions.

What is discouraging is, that those who preach destructive radicalism find applause and financial support for their projects, whereas a program of progress without confiscation of property rights often seems to arouse little enthusiasm and to find less support than, on the one hand, the ultra-radicals and visionaries and, on the other hand, the reactionaries and "standpatters." The two extremes are alike destructive. Without knowing it, they are allies. But in the long run we must believe that the sanity of the founders of the Republic will triumph. For love of country, we still think it a sweet thing to die, and these words—patriotically American, anti-Bolshevik, sanely progressive—we may well adopt as our motto.



# OUR THREE CENTURIES OF EXPANSION

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW



THE celebrations of 1920 in America and England mark something more than the three hundredth anniversary of the sailing and landing of the Pilgrims, more than

.the ascendancy of

Puritanism in the old world and the new, more than the founding and growth of local communities, or even of those laws, customs, and ways of living that we instinctively associate with New England. What we are really commemorating in these closing months of the year is the tercentenary of the British conquest of a continent; for the transplanting of English ideals, modes of thought, methods of government, begun in so humble a fashion by the *Mayflower*, went steadily on from that first cruel winter at Plymouth until America's last frontier had been reached and passed by the waves of settlement. For better, for worse, it is an English civilization that has ruled the land since 1620 and the break that came in 1776, far from setting a period to that rule, only assured its continuance.

History took three centuries to enact the drama that we call the settlement of America. Jamestown and Plymouth Rock marked the opening scene and when the curtain fell the Golden Gate and the Klondike loomed in the foreground. The last "frontier" had disappeared; for the race had at last surged over it—blotted it off the map. Savagery had melted away before the white heat of a restless, eager civilization that would not be brooked or stayed by the forces of nature.

That onrush of the Caucasian over North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific was not merely the most picturesque racial movement of all human history; it connoted the most persistent effort of the white race anywhere in the world to master the wild,

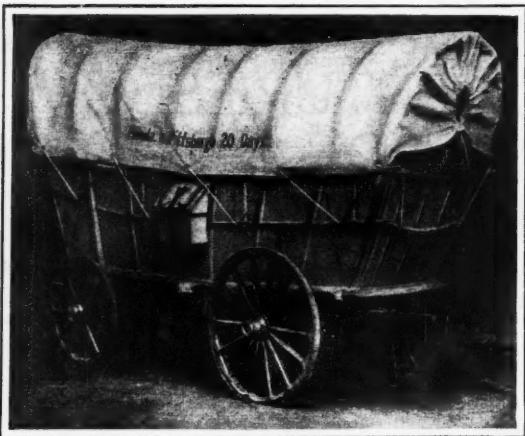
to seat itself permanently on the thrones of empire, to found institutions that should themselves attract old-world peoples to this new-world environment.

At the dawn of the Twentieth Century, when America awoke to consciousness as a world power, men spoke of the peril of expansion, as if some new impulse were stirring the nation's thought, as if every explorer and pioneer who crossed the Alleghanies in the Eighteenth Century, the Rockies in the Nineteenth, had not been an expansionist by commission from his forebears! Expansion was in the blood of the men who opened the continent to civilization and the purpose of those men to rule the wilderness and the plain was what gave coherence and vitality to the nation that they founded here.

Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson were our first great expansionists. They fixed the nation's policy for all time. Consciously or unconsciously, the men and women who made up the great host that followed their leadership accepted expansion as our national destiny. Our goal, as a people, was empire, and no tribe or race or nation ever pursued an end with greater singleness of aim.

From the Atlantic seaboard to the valleys of the Connecticut, the Delaware, and the Shenandoah measured the first stage of the westward advance. Farms were cleared and planted, homesteads established, families reared in the new country, and then the second or third generation moved on another week's or month's journey toward the setting sun. So the pioneering impulse worked itself out in cycles, losing nothing of intensity, until the long march was at last ended only because the continent itself had been spanned. Through it all came and went the great mysteries of human existence. Children grew to manhood and womanhood; there was marrying and giving in marriage; new households pushed on into the wilderness to repeat on fresh ground the experience of the parents.

The court of law, the school, the church went with the wagon trains that crossed the



THE FAMOUS "CONESTOGA" WAGON

(For several decades this was the principal means of freight transportation from eastern Pennsylvania to "the Ohio Country")

Appalachians, the Mississippi, and the Rockies. The civilization that our forefathers knew may have been rude and elemental, but at any rate it was adaptable. Where it went, it stayed; its course was steadily progressive. Art and the finer things of life, as we think of them to-day, it cherished with only the loosest of bonds; but in the shaping of the material to human needs, in the laying of foundations for communities, in the rearing of a practical social structure, it was at its best.

The people who set up these institutions on the long trail were chiefly of English and Scottish stock, though colonies of Teutonic origin from the mainland of Europe were not lacking. The French and Spanish settlements along the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley long retained the customs and traditions of the Romance peoples from which they were offshoots, but in the long run they too were inundated by the irresistible wave of so-called Anglo-Saxon influence.

Of the three hundred years that have passed into history since the *Mayflower's* adventurous voyage, the first one hundred and fifty were required to complete the settlement of New England itself, including Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and a portion of Maine. Then began the westward migrations of families and communities—first to New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, then, in the '30's, '40's, and '50's of the last century to Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, and finally to California, Oregon, and Washington.

Roughly speaking, the era of path-finding and pioneering between the Alleghanies and the Pacific began about the middle of the Eighteenth Century. Daniel Boone, of Kentucky, a native of Pennsylvania, who died in Missouri in 1820 at the age of eighty-five, represented the first generation of trans-mountain land-seekers. In the long cavalcade that followed him across the Mississippi were explorers like Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, and a group of fellow army officers with whom, in later years, should be included John C. Frémont and George A. Custer. Politicians, Indian fighters, and adventurers of every type joined the column—David Crockett and Sam Houston in Texas, "Kit" Carson in New Mexico, and later "Buffalo Bill" (Col. William F. Cody) in Colorado and Kansas.

The California gold rush of the mid-Nineteenth Century brought forth a separate group of popular heroes; but the fortunes of individual leaders are of less importance in the long run than the welfare of the unnamed and unnumbered thousands who followed.

Living conditions that seem to us hard and forbidding made up the common lot a few generations back. The grandfathers of many of us were born in log cabins, and as boys wore homespun clothes. In hundreds of backwoods settlements practically none of the necessities and few of the luxuries (according to the standards of the time) came from the outer world. For food, clothing, and shelter the community was practically self-sufficient. It was a self-reliant folk that grew up with such a schooling and in the fierce struggle for existence it was foreordained that only the fittest should survive. From this hard school came Lincoln—a child of the frontier if ever there was one—and thousands of others to whom the nation owes the very sinews of its frame.

American backwoods life was narrowing, petty, provincial; yet it sent forth men of vision, breadth, and sanity. Those who pushed the frontier westward were themselves the products of frontier conditions. Such a leader was Lewis Cass, a native of New Hampshire, who went out as a youth to the settlements that were soon to be organized into the State of Ohio, took part in lawmaking there, served as a volunteer officer



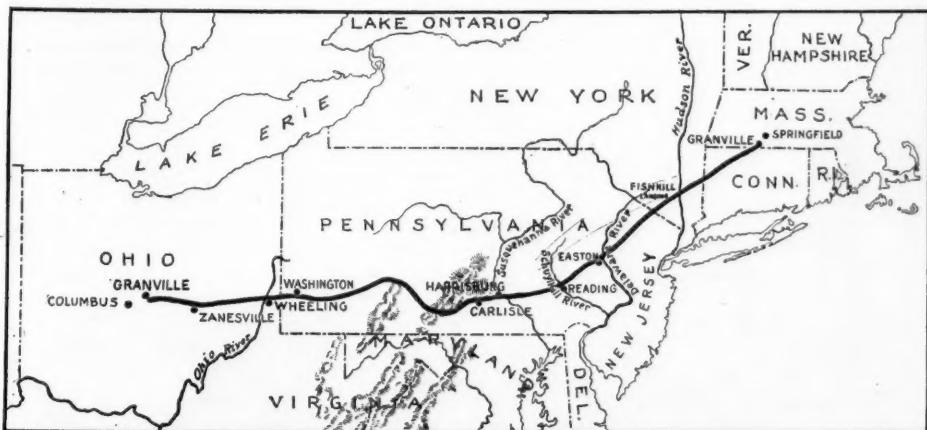
CARAVAN ON THE FAMOUS SANTA FÉ TRAIL, 1840—FROM AN OLD PRINT

in the War of 1812, was appointed Governor of Michigan Territory, and for many years was engaged in the difficult task of setting up an American form of government in regions that had barely emerged from the wilderness stage.

That Lewis Cass was in after years a United States Senator from Michigan, a member of cabinets, a diplomat, and an unsuccessful aspirant for the Presidency, may have partially blinded us to the really important services that he rendered in the pioneer period of Michigan's history. Neither he nor any of the men of his day could have foreseen the strain that was to be put upon the States created while he was in the prime of life out of the old Northwest Territory—

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. That strain was caused by the attempt to absorb vast populations of Northern European blood into the body of citizenship. The loyalty of these large foreign-born elements was put to the test in our Civil War. Lewis Cass lived to see great armies recruited among those newly-made Americans to fight for the Union and the principles of nationality which he had himself defended throughout his career. The five States named equipped and sent into the field 947,000 men, whole regiments of whom had hardly learned to speak the English language.

Nothing quite like this had been known before in history. The world had thought it a marvelous thing that a few struggling



ROUTE OF ONE OF THE MANY COLONIES THAT WENT FROM NEW ENGLAND TO OHIO IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(These pioneers started from Granville, Mass., in 1805, and completed a journey of 700 miles with ox-teams in about six weeks, settling at Granville, Ohio, near the present city of Columbus. The story of this Granville colony is told by Miss Ellen Hayes in a book recently published, entitled "Wild Turkeys and Tallow Candles" [Boston: The Four Seas Company]. Many similar migrations from New England to the Middle West are noted by Dr. Howard A. Bridgman in a series of articles published during the current year in the *Congregationalist*, of Boston)

colonies on the Atlantic seaboard of America could in 150 years weld themselves into a nation, but when the descendants of the seaboard colonists pushed westward through the mountain gaps and began to build new States and to invite all liberty-loving peoples to join them it was felt that a delicate experiment was in progress. Across the Atlantic failure had been freely predicted. Now more than one-eighth of the total population of those five States had joined the colors.

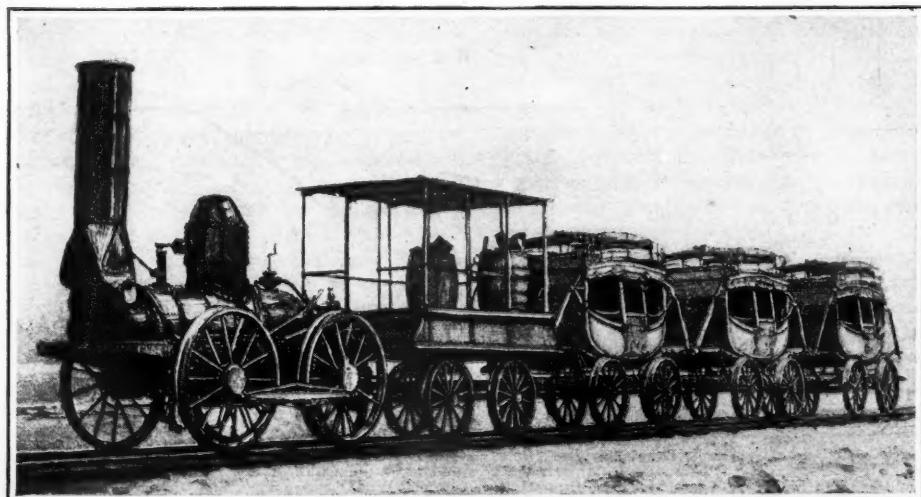
Fifty years after the Civil War came the second great test of Americanism when the United States entered the world war, recruited four million men, and sent half of them overseas to fight with the Allies on French soil. In the lists of casualties as they were printed in the newspapers in the summer and autumn of 1918 appeared thousands of foreign names. These in many instances were the names of grandsons of immigrants who had settled in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, or Wisconsin in the '50's.

The peopling of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys during the interval between the Revolution and the Civil War had a decisive bearing on our whole history as a nation. The famous Ordinance of 1787, adopted by the Congress of the Confederation several months before the Constitution had been formulated, prohibited slavery northwest of the Ohio. Quite apart from ethical considerations, this was a most fortunate provision, since it was soon found that slave labor was unprofitable in northern latitudes and if introduced in the new Northwest Territory would in all likelihood have proved a detri-

ment to rapid and successful growth. The point to be noted is that the character of the settlements throughout the region was largely determined by the fact that it was free territory.

In a striking way the people of the original Thirteen Colonies had shown their capacity to secure their own future. Not only had their leaders developed ideals, but they had learned how to provide definitely and permanently for the working out and perpetuation of those ideals. The statesmanship of the fathers has been more than vindicated by history. As State after State was opened to settlement west of the Mississippi the same process was essentially repeated, although the methods of pioneering were changed. After the Civil War the Government opened its vast stretches of fertile lands to the settler. The railroads spanned the continent and the immigrant was no longer dependent on ox-team or stage-coach. Yet the public school, the college, the church, the printing press were everywhere, and no frontier outpost of civilization, however remote, got beyond the influence of the English common law.

The statisticians tell us that in spite of the great influx of other bloods during the past eighty years the population of the continental United States is still more than half of British descent; but the influence exerted by this stock has been and is now out of all proportion to its numerical strength. It is fitting that the whole nation should join in celebrating the tercentenary of English settlement in America.



THE FIRST PASSENGER TRAIN ON WHAT IS NOW THE NEW YORK CENTRAL SYSTEM

# LLOYD GEORGE AND HIS PROBLEMS

BY P. W. WILSON

(Former Member of the British Parliament)

**I**N the annals of British democracy, no Prime Minister has occupied so commanding a position, under circumstances so critical, as Mr. Lloyd George to-day. On three occasions has he seized responsibility: First, when on the death of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman he outstripped Lord Harcourt and became Chancellor of the Exchequer, or second only to Mr. Asquith; secondly, when he forced the crisis which led to Mr. Asquith's resignation and his own summons to form a government; and thirdly, when he ran a "Khaki Election" in the year 1918 and broke an embittered Liberal party to fragments. Responsibilities thus assumed cling to Mr. Lloyd George like a shirt of Nessus, and it had been stated in London that if the miners forced a strike he would dissolve Parliament and appeal again to the whole community.

## *Supreme as a Negotiator*

The first secret of his success is this courage. He does not fear the people nor shrink from them. He is devoid of that academic contempt for common clay which is sometimes attributed to Balliol College, Oxford. Mr. Balfour "never reads the newspapers." Mr. Asquith displays a quiet but unmistakable aversion to the press, which has been partly his undoing. Mr. Lloyd George uses the press as an instrument of power. "Attack me as much as you like," said he to a fierce critic, "but don't forget to come round to breakfast." If he wanted to "start something" in London, you would find the idea innocently cropping up in a Paris journal or cabled back from New York. Mr. Lloyd George has few, if any, hatreds. He always looks forward to the day when his enemies will be his instruments. Hence the Asquithian jest that, instead of a policy, he establishes a press bureau.

No man can read more than so many words a day. When he has finished with the philosophy of Fleet Street, Mr. Lloyd

George has little inclination either for blue books or other literature. He leaves documents to subordinates and governs by conversation. Show him a state paper and he will say, "Tell me what it amounts to." As a legislator, therefore, he lacks the clear-cut workmanship of the best masters. But in negotiation he is admittedly supreme. He always gives to the other man a feeling that nobody in human history has ever been quite so important as the other man is at this moment. Constantly he pays Millerand and Giolitti and other European statesmen the compliment of hurrying over to see them. He never neglects the human appeal. His girl and—some years later—my boy both died of appendicitis. He wrote and asked me to call, and when I found him, at a sad moment for me, he was in tears.

He treated King George in just the same way. When King Edward died he was received at Buckingham Palace, and there said to the succeeding monarch: "We feel, sir, that in your father we lost not only a king but a friend." And when the interview closed, the King told his Minister that for the first time since his accession he had been treated as a man as well as a sovereign.

When, therefore, Lloyd George is in a fight, even with Germany, his mind is never wholly on the struggle itself. He is always watching the men behind the lines on the other side, and often he is quietly negotiating with them. He is out for the result, not the conflict, and would capture his Jerusalem by artifice rather than bombardment.

His oratory is often ragged, ill-polished, extravagant. The reason of this is that he aims not at eloquence, but at what eloquence may achieve. There is no art in him for art's sake. In his speeches you will nearly always find the dagger well pointed, but it is a dagger decorated with an olive branch. He never fails to invite, at any rate by suggestion, an offer of terms. Even when he denounced Sinn Fein the other day he was

careful to tell the world that Arthur Griffiths, who inaugurated Sinn Fein, was one of the greatest of living Irishmen. He always has admired the efficiency of Germany, and, having been himself a village lad, does not underestimate the careers of Lenin and Trotsky. To the drawing-room he is utterly indifferent. He likes men who have made money. Their force and push appeal to him. But mere birth, unless accompanied by capacity, leaves him cold. And dogma, whether free trade or theological, however august its theological pedigree, has little hold on him. "There are two sects of Baptists which are sworn to hate each other," says he merrily. "I belong to one of them, and therefore hate the other; but, for the life of me, I cannot remember which!" No wonder that he failed to get on with Gladstone, to whom it would have seemed inconceivable that the little Welsh dissenter would one day be among the rulers of Europe and qualify himself for a place in Westminster Abbey not less honored than any of his predecessors. For the grand manner Lloyd George has substituted the human manner.

The Prime Minister—here in sharp contrast with the method pursued in the United States—has worked frankly through a coalition, which he constantly defends as the only method whereby one can get things done. As a result, there are in Britain to-day millions of electors who do not know their right hand from their left. Most of them are grumbling, often with good reason, against the government. But the trouble is to find an alternative. A year ago enthusiasm for Mr. Asquith ran high. His splendid loyalties to colleagues who did not always deserve such shielding, his personal sacrifice of sons in the war, his dignified bearing under abuse and defeat, were unmistakable testimonials to a lofty character. But returned to Parliament, he is there found to be a venerable rather than a constructive statesman, who has more to criticize than to suggest, whose authority on the front bench as in the constituencies has to be shared with and is sometimes challenged by labor, whose following of independent Liberals is seldom one-tenth of the House of Commons. It used to be said in England that governments, when they fall sick, never recover. This hardly seems to be the case to-day. Despite the solid support of Liberal associations throughout the country and the admitted perplexities of the coalition, it looks as if, in the last twelve months, Mr. Asquith had lost ground,

nor will the published diaries of Mrs. Asquith, however entertaining to the irreverent, help him to recover it.

#### *Where Are the Liberals of Yesteryear?*

The House of Commons thus consists to-day of a national party, as often desired in past years by Mr. Churchill, composed of Liberals and Conservatives, and faced by Labor and the Liberal Independents. Probably, Mr. Lloyd George is conscious that the *personnel* of his administration is weak, at any rate in political philosophy. The entire body of Liberal statesmanship of the higher type has been retired into the shades. Mr. McKenna and Mr. Hothouse are running banks. Mr. Masterman is writing articles. Lords Gladstone, Buxton, Harcourt and Crewe are fast becoming memories. Sir Herbert Samuel is administering Jerusalem. Lord Haldane is older and seldom active. Mr. Asquith resolutely declines to serve under Mr. Lloyd George, who has not less resolutely invited him. There remains Viscount Grey, the friend of all and trusted by all, but devoid of ambition. Other Liberals like Sir John Simon and Mr. Walter Runciman cannot get back to the House and their places are filled by Conservatives and "business men," some of whom, in their departments, owe much to a still incomparable Civil Service, which is permanent, both in occasional prejudices and undoubted capacity

With Mr. Lloyd George unable to attend the House of Commons regularly and often absent from the country, it is no wonder that policy seems at times to lack coherence and continuity. Every day the Prime Minister becomes more evidently the one link which holds the framework together. And every day the necessities of the situation are Mr. Lloyd George's opportunity to act the part of an indispensable. Over and over again he returns from his trips abroad and plunges into debate at Westminster, hitting right and left, and so restoring some semblance of order amid the turmoil. Such incursions naturally leave the Independent Liberals still less reconcilable than ever, which fact has left the Prime Minister more dependent on the Conservatives than perhaps he quite likes.

#### *A Dictator without a Party*

Mr. Lloyd George has imagined that he could do Liberal work with Tory instruments. To some extent his hopes were justified. He has maintained direct taxation, enfranchised women, and found in Lord

Robert Cecil the architect of a League of Nations. But he has had to scrap his plans for taxing land. He has had to let loose again that Frankenstein monster—an unrestricted liquor traffic. And, at the golden moment, when he might have stood firmly for a new world, he compromised. The clamors of the Billings and the Bottomleys and the Northcliffes and the Carsons, coupled with the resentments of Liberals, weakened the hands of a Prime Minister who was in the curious situation of a dictator without a party. The United States drew away from Europe, and the Prime Minister has now to stand alone against those forces of unfaith which he might have overcome at an earlier date.

#### *Feared Separation from France*

There were two reasons why, on so many questions, Mr. Lloyd George compromised. First, he considered that in dealing with Italy over the Adriatic and with Japan over Shantung, Great Britain was bound by her secret treaties, in obedience to which "faith unfaithful kept him falsely true." Viscount Grey has told me that, with one insignificant exception, he announced every treaty which he negotiated during the ten years, 1905 to 1914, when Britain was at peace. According to Viscount Grey, the secret treaties which were signed during the war were "as much *military* measures as poison gas," and doubtless as deplorable in their effects. I do not doubt for one moment that Mr. Lloyd George found them an embarrassment. Secondly, he feared a disruption of the alliance and especially an alienation from France. As a Celt, he was acutely conscious of the disparity between the British and the French temperaments, and also of the wisdom of France and Britain acting together. He therefore supported French decisions of which his judgment did not entirely approve. At times he had no choice. His Conservative associates were quite ready on occasion to play off foreign powers against the Prime Minister, and European diplomats knew this.

#### *Dealings with Russia*

Mr. Lloyd George has thus found himself frequently in the position of a man who in his heart agrees with his severest critics. The importance of the disclosures made by Mr. Bullitt lay not in Mr. Bullitt's own recollections, interesting though these were, but in the actual minutes of the Peace Confer-

ence which Mr. Bullitt published. These minutes show that, behind the scenes, the Prime Minister was as much opposed to intervention in Russia, and for the same reasons, as the London *Daily News*. Mr. Lloyd George told France and Italy that this enterprise would lead to a Soviet in London, and events have proved him right. London has witnessed the formation by Labor of a Council of Action which threatened an immediate general strike if Britain should become involved in the Russo-Polish War. On this issue there is—to be frank—a good deal of quiet sympathy in Britain with the stand taken by Labor, however unconstitutional it has been on technical grounds. The Russian adventure had already cost us £130,000,000. It was beginning to involve India. It was achieving nothing—not even the collection of the Russian debt to France. Any veto on Mr. Churchill's impulses was therefore welcomed, and by none, I suspect, more heartily than the Prime Minister. On the other hand, there will be many to argue that, in so important a matter, the Prime Minister should have refused to subordinate his real judgment to sentiment, that the break with such sentiment which came with France's recognition of General Wrangel and her instigation of Poland's advance to Kieff, was bound to come anyhow, and that no service has been rendered by compromise to the true interests of continental Europe. When Mr. Lloyd George told his colleagues at Paris that intervention would be an expensive blunder, he ought not to have committed it!

Unfortunately, he is not yet free to pursue toward Russia a plain policy. What the world needs is a general renewal of trade, but with Russia trade is still difficult. In the case of Russia, as of Germany, France considers that foreign creditors have a first claim on all remaining national assets. About the German indemnity there may be differences of opinion, but the Russian obligations, though contracted by the Czar, were for value received. And there are, too, ordinary commercial liabilities, due to private firms, which, in good faith, traded with the Russian people. Not only in Paris, but among the financiers of London, there is thus a strong conviction that trade with Russia can only be renewed when prior obligations are acknowledged. Doubtless this is a problem which, as it were, ebbs and flows. Opinion against Russia fluctuates with the Polish successes and with the dramatic discovery that Lenin has been seeking to finance our

chief Labor paper, the *Daily Herald*. Probably, the view to-day is that, in commerce as in arms, we should, as far as possible, leave Russia—a country which we do not understand—severely alone. The disillusionment of Socialists like Bertrand Russell, who have recently seen Russia for themselves and found that Bolshevism is a material and not a spiritual faith, which, in their opinion, destroys individuality and standardizes the soul, has been, perhaps, salutary.

#### *British Power in Asia and Africa*

At the moment, Britain is undoubtedly the leading power in Asia and Africa. Of this situation two views are taken in the United States—one more favorable than the other—but whether we approve or disapprove of the British Empire, we must admit that its evolution into something better is among the largest tasks ever committed to statesmanship. The fall of Constantinople and, not less, the Zionist proposals for Palestine have everywhere stirred the Moslem peoples. In Egypt and in India there is, too, an unrest, based partly on genuine nationalism and partly on a weariness with the strict but unlovable correctitude in law and finance of British officialdom. These white men, who cannot be bribed, who treat all men, rich and poor, as natives to be handled with equal justice, who make no concessions to caste and pedigree, except their own, are unpopular among classes that wish to be vocal. Where the Englishman is most right he may be least representative of the races which he governs.

Hence there is, even in an officer like General Dyer, who ordered the shooting at Amritsar, a curious belief that he is acting, not oppressively, but in the best interests of the masses and especially of the poor, who, before the British came, were flogged, plundered, and slain at any tyrant's whim. The question is how to preserve the unity of India and her immunity from invasion—both secured for the first time under the British Crown—while establishing within her borders again for the first time those Parliamentary institutions of which Asia has had no knowledge or experience—which even in Japan are as yet only the garments of autocracy. In Egypt, north of the Sudan, a kind of Cuban Sultanate is announced. The country is to become somewhat like a native state in India, advised rather than governed by the British. In India, outside the native states which are already autonomous under their princes, the Montagu Scheme of Home Rule

—undoubtedly encouraged by the Prime Minister—is in force, but experimentally as yet and with no large result available. The Anglo-Russian agreement made by Viscount Grey with the Czardom secured for India a peaceful frontier to the north, and it must be obvious that she is inconvenienced by the emergence of a hostile and possibly aggressive Bolshevism. But there is no evidence that she is in immediate military peril; in fact, latest reports suggest that Moscow is too exhausted to attempt aggression.

#### *Britain in the Near East*

Ten years ago it used to be said that Japan would lead Asia out of European tutelage. If the Liberal movement in Japan had triumphed before the war this might have been the prospect and, in any event, Japanese progressive thought would have influenced India. To-day the position is that Japanese militarism has antagonized China and Korea and is dreaded throughout the Orient. With Germany and Russia neutralized, Britain has nothing to fear from Japan, and sentiment in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand is against any vital continuance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which comes up for renewal next year. Whatever other differences there may be between London and Washington, it is certain that over Japan there is complete co-operation. But in the Near East a somewhat less satisfactory report has to be submitted. Britain had hoped that the United States would accept a mandate over the widest arrangeable area in the Ottoman Empire, to include Constantinople. American opinion was unprepared for a responsibility so fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

The result is that Turkey becomes a second Egypt, guided to some extent by England, acting amid the jealousies and intrigues of some other powers. In this rough parallel upper Mesopotamia corresponds to the Sudan, a hinterland in tribal revolt, involving costly warlike operations. Your view of whether England is to tidy up this region, as she has Egypt, depends entirely upon whether you accept or reject what I may call the Hibernian estimate of British rule. If you consider that Britain is a grasping tyrant over peoples rightly struggling to be free, you will not want her despotism directly or indirectly extended. If, however, you regard Britain as—in the main—a public servant of nations as yet imperfectly developed on modern lines, your opinion may coincide with

what seems to be the prevailing view of American missionaries on the spot.

#### *Lloyd George's Irish Policy*

The self-governing dominions remain loyal to the Crown. South Africa alone causes anxiety, but even there General Smuts, though hard pressed by Labor and the Separatists, holds his own. Conciliated by the diplomacy of Sir Auckland Geddes, Canada has dropped her proposal for a Dominion plenipotentiary at Washington, and there only remains as a disturbing factor here, as in Australia and, of course, the United States, the unsettled problem of Ireland, which country undoubtedly presents a spectacle of Mexican disorder fairly to be described as a kind of war. That the enviable prosperity of Ireland, enjoyed by her during the war, is suffering, I do not doubt, and the air is thick with recrimination. Mr. Lloyd George meets the situation with a definite scheme, which nobody likes but everyone must, he thinks, accept as the only solution. He offers Ireland two Parliaments, the one at Dublin and the other at Belfast, with power at any time to unite and with ample financial resources. North East Ulster accepts the bill and will, presumably, set up a legislature, becoming thus by a strange irony the first region in Ireland actually to practice autonomy. Sinn Fein will have none of the measure, demanding an independent republic for all Ireland and even rejecting an exclusively Irish Conference, proposed by Lord Grey, for the establishment of Dominion autonomy. Under these circumstances there may be some fault on both sides. The tone in Britain—also of the Prime Minister—has hardened as the Sinn Fein seemed irreconcilable, and with that hardening there has sprung up, I am afraid, some momentary resentment against the attitude of anti-British critics in the United States.

#### *London Still a Money Market*

Amid these cross-currents the sheet anchor of Britain is sound finance. While strikes are threatened, not one organized worker in sixty is actually idle. Foreign trade has recovered, and tonnage at sea, lost during the war, is almost, if not quite, replaced. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain has displayed great courage in retaining the excess profits tax and so con-

tinuing a revenue which covers all expenditure, including interest on debt, and is sufficient also for repayment of the principal to an amount which, since March 31, already totals £85,000,000. It is true that sterling exchange has fallen from \$4.86 for the pound to \$3.50. But even here there are compensations. Britain has always had an excess of imports over exports. She has paid the difference by rendering certain services—insurance, investment of money abroad, and the carriage of freight upon the high seas. If the rest of Europe could be eliminated, British exchange in New York would rise rapidly and would soon reach par. The recorded depression in sterling is largely due to the fact that Europe is using British paper as an international currency in the United States. London is the stepping-stone between the Old World and the new. She has to sustain a heavy burden, but it means that she is still, in a sense, the money market which she was before the war. Transactions, as of old, pass through her hands. This is her compensation for the international use of her credit—to an extent which has been at times embarrassing.

#### *Weathering the Storm*

With regard to the future, I am at a disadvantage. In a fortnight later than these words are written Parliament will meet. There are rumors of the usual Cabinet changes, but no evidence of crisis. Visitors from England who have attended recent debates in the Commons tell me that the Prime Minister exercises an unabated influence over his followers and that, though a tired man, his health continues good. Over the miners as over the railway men last year, it seemed as if he had successfully mobilized the dominating forces of public opinion. Britain has to face an anxious winter, with possibilities of unemployment and unrest. It is, however, probable that by yielding a little, here and there, the Prime Minister may soon weather the worst of the "economic revolution." While Mr. Gompers was denouncing Robert Smillie as a Bolshevik, it is characteristic of Mr. Lloyd George that he praised Mr. Smillie for helping on a settlement! As someone put it, he takes the fires of communism and uses them in his own fireplace. A severe winter is anticipated, however, with some slump in trade.



THE CITY OF SEATTLE FIFTY YEARS AGO—FROM A CONTEMPORARY PRINT

(The drawing was made for *Harper's Magazine* in 1870 at the time of the visit of William H. Seward, then on a tour of the world after the purchase of Alaska and his retirement from office. The view shows the waterfront, from the harbor. Seattle is now the principal port on the Pacific Coast, with unlimited possibilities for further expansion)

## SEATTLE'S NEW LABOR POLICY

BY CHRISTY THOMAS

**I**N the short space of twenty months Seattle has accomplished wonders in handling its labor problems. Not only has it stamped out the conditions which gave it repute throughout the country as a breeding ground for industrial strife, but it now has evolved a labor policy, based on "the square deal," which already has brought about harmonious relationship between employer, employee and the community.

In a very large measure this is due to the fact that Seattle employers and their men have arrived at an understanding. For a long time neither knew a great deal about the other. Capital thought Seattle labor, or at least a majority of it, stood for the red flag and a no-work day. Labor, on the other hand, regarded Seattle employers for the most part as a collection of business high-binders who wanted to make 1000 per cent. on their investment.

Now both have discovered that the other fellow, after all, is human and wants nothing quite so much as fair play. Seattle employers have found that the average workingman is loyal and square and responds quickly to fair and honest treatment, based on his right to good working conditions and a wage which will permit him to provide for himself and family in comfort. As for Seattle labor, it likewise has made some gratifying discoveries. It has learned, among other important truths, that the employers are interested in them as men and not merely as cogs in the city's industrial machine. In this

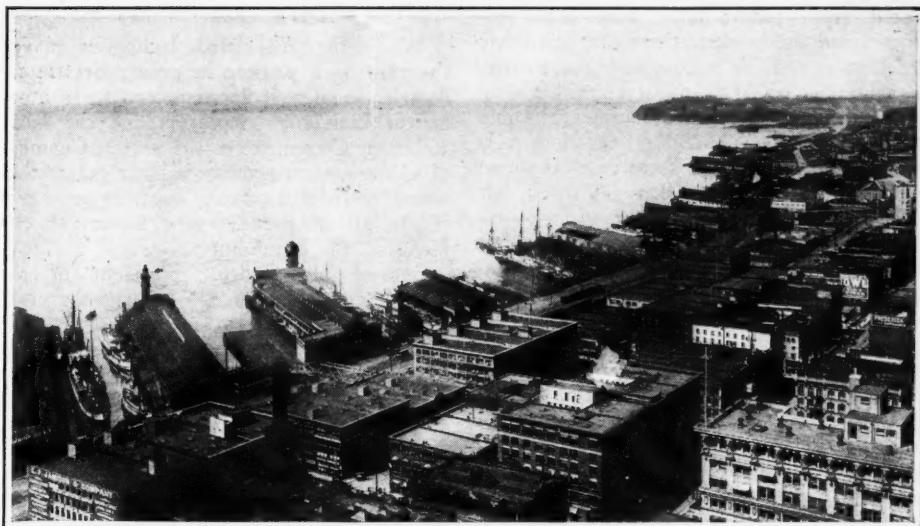
country, labor always will react favorably to that attitude. Seattle is only fresh proof of the wisdom of such a policy—that's all.

The great bulk of labor in Seattle to-day consists of as fine and upstanding a body of workmen as can be found anywhere in the country. It was only that its radical minority was remarkably noisy and spectacular. In the days before the general strike in 1919, of which so much has been written, this faction was very active, especially in the shipyards, and the better and more numerous class, as is often the case, permitted the more radical men to gain control and act as their spokesmen.

The I. W. W. and other agitators of their ilk in Seattle, however, are now gone; their influence is no longer felt in that city. The same conservative workers left behind are acting in harmony with the employers on a constructive program satisfactory to both sides and they are helping Seattle to get back its old industrial stride.

### *Everybody Tired of Strikes*

Seattle's new labor condition also is attributed to the changed temper of the public. Many months ago the people in the Pacific Northwest city grew weary of strikes engineered by agitators who had their own selfish purposes to serve. This accounts, in part, for the general support accorded the open-shop movement there. Like every other American city, Seattle still has its industrial squabbles, but they are small affairs and are



THE HARBOR OF SEATTLE AND A PORTION OF THE BUSINESS SECTION

(In this photograph are shown some of Seattle's docks and warehouses, whose operators have decided to install the shop committee plan as a means of promoting harmonious relations with their employers)

without effect. So far they all have failed, not causing a ripple of disturbance.

For a time after the organization of the Associated Industries in Seattle last autumn the impression prevailed that this movement represented an effort on the part of capital to crush organized labor. This is untrue, but that is another story. The important fact is that capital in Seattle in years past has had so much difficulty of various kinds with labor, while labor, on the other hand, has had so many tilts with capital that each side has come better to estimate the strength of the other. For much the same reason both capital and labor in Seattle are in a more conciliatory mood than of yore. Because of the wide variety of demands made upon it by labor, capital in Seattle also has a new appreciation of some of the causes of industrial unrest. Capital now is making an honest effort to meet those demands by labor which are within reason.

#### *The Labor Unions Have "Cleaned House"*

On the side of labor in Seattle it must be said that the workers in large part have purged their ranks of the radical element responsible for much of that city's industrial turmoil. In some cases labor has been spared that trouble by the State and federal governments. Not a few of the men, among them I. W. W. and communists, who wormed their way into control of Seattle

labor unions, have now been convicted under the State Syndicalism Law and are behind prison bars. Others of them were caught in the net spread over this and other sections by the United States authorities. The members of still another group, the aliens who did so much to foment the Seattle general strike, have been deported.

With this outside help, Seattle labor has made a thorough job of its house-cleaning. The attitude of labor in Seattle also has been influenced a great deal by the fact that, with the radical fraternity out of the way, the conservative leaders there have been able to convince the rank and file that only through increased production can they hope for a continuity of employment and such financial returns upon their work as will permit them to earn a living and at the same time to provide their children with a good education. It was not a very hard task to show labor the wisdom of this view. In the past the city has had so many strikes that the men themselves, it was found, were looking for a way out of their troubles—the chance to check the heavy drain on their slender purses.

#### *The Open Shop*

A practical result of the new condition in Seattle is that thousands of union men and non-union men have buried their differences and are working side by side in peace in the city's manufacturing plants. I am con-

vinced from recent talks with both employers and the workers there that the labor situation as a whole is constantly improving. In a number of large industries where only union men are employed no hint of trouble between the men and their employers is being found. Labor, in these cases, is showing not only a desire to keep at work, but is coöperating toward the common goal—increased production. It is because of this that capital has become more lenient toward labor, which is now rapidly regaining much of its old-time efficiency.

#### *Seattle's Industries*

Seattle's industrial army at the present time consists of about 40,000 men and women. The city has approximately 1200 manufacturing plants. These are highly diversified in character and range in size from a handful of employees to several thousand. The largest ones are found in the lumber industry, where some of the bigger concerns employ hundreds of men in logging camps, mills, and in the manufacture and distribution of timber products. The value of these products totals about \$90,000,000 a year. This also is true of the city's great fishing industry, Seattle being the market place for the fishing waters of Puget Sound, the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and the continental shelf off the coast of Alaska, which is the most extensive fishing area in the world. During the last few years this product has had a value of about \$70,000,000 annually. Allied industries manufacture logging and sawmill equipment, and still others fishing and canning supplies.

Of prime importance are the manufacturing plants there, which are related to the huge fruit and vegetable canning industry in the Pacific Northwest. Then there are the meat-packing and milling lines. Seattle also has a steel industry which promises to expand rapidly. This includes one large plant, which is making steel from scrap iron, and a number of smaller concerns. The manufacture of clothing, shoes, furniture, condensed milk, jewelry, confections and soft drinks also plays a leading part in the plans for Seattle's progressive industrial development.

From this list it will be seen that industrial conditions in Seattle are typical of those in the average American city. In a general way its problems are much the same as those faced by manufacturers in many other parts of the country.

#### *A New Labor Policy*

While the Associated Industries played the rôle of a pioneer in giving Seattle industrial stability it has remained for a number of individual employers and the Labor Relations Committee of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce to produce a labor policy that seems destined to bring together as never before all of the different important elements in the community.

Samuel H. Hedges, president of the Chamber of Commerce, is one of the city's leaders in the present movement for harmonious relations between capital and labor. He is at the head of one of Seattle's largest engineering and contracting firms and himself is one of the big employers of labor. The Labor Relations Committee of the Chamber was formed a year ago last May, and selected as its chairman Clyde M. Hadley, scion of one of the city's pioneer families. Mr. Hadley, who is an attorney, for years has made labor relations his hobby, and is rated an authority on this subject.

One feature of this new labor policy is the declaration that the public wants more than the open shop; it demands results or increased productivity. Taking a cross section of a recent report prepared by the Labor Relations Committee and approved by the Board of Trustees of the Chamber one comes upon this:

Mr. Seattle Employer: We want increased production! You know yourself as a consumer of the other men's products how the ability to pay is well-nigh strained to the cracking point. You also know what it would mean for you to increase your output without added facilities and at less cost per unit. It is being done.

Mr. Seattle Employee: We want increased productivity! You, too, as a consumer of products pay for the other fellow's slackism, which the employer just passes on to the public in the guise of higher prices. If he did not, the employer in most cases would have to go out of business. A substantial increase of your earnings would reduce your cost of living. Forced increase of wages for the same and often less work does not reduce your cost of living. This has been demonstrated.

Mr. Seattle Citizen: Whatever your calling, this concerns you most of all. You may be an employer or an employee and thus already interested, but in any event you are a consumer of commodities and mightily disturbed about their cost. If the profiteer and slacker have forgotten that the chief aim of industry is to serve the community it is largely the community's fault.

At another point appears the following:

Proper industrial relations result only from concurrent effort on the part of employer, employee and community; and in this it is essen-

tial to see each the other's viewpoint and deal with entire candor and honesty. . . . If better industrial relations are to be brought about all three parties to industry must needs approach the subject with open and unprejudiced mind. Solution of the industrial problem lies entirely in a sincere desire by employer and employee, and the public alike to get together by all feasible means, study each other's needs, viewpoints and work out and adopt mutually constructive methods. For his own benefit and that of the public it is essential for the employer to know the detailed costs of his business; and if his management is to be successful he must realize that his employees should also know the costs of carrying on the business so they may not falsely rate him as a profiteer. So it is that successful management requires careful cost accounting.

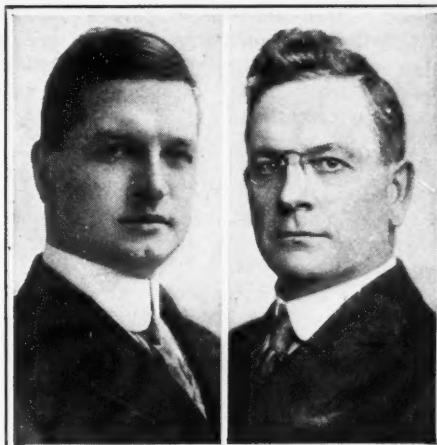
This new enlightened labor policy in Seattle endorses scientific management by functional foremen, employment management by specially trained executives, the shop committee system of employee representation, and wage technique, with a caution that any system must be adapted to suit the conditions under which it is to be applied. This program is a far cry from the conditions which led to the Seattle general strike in February, 1919. It shows conclusively that Seattle is thinking and working intelligently in an effort to meet the industrial problem in a constructive way—a way, incidentally, which now is working out satisfactorily in many big plants throughout the East and Middle West, and which in at least several cases has given Seattle something distinctly new and encouraging in the attempt being made to bring about better relations between employers and their men.

#### *Lumber and Shipping Interests*

Among the cases in point are the Bloedel-Donovan Lumber Mills, the largest manufacturers of timber products on the Pacific Coast, and the Pacific Steamship Company. The latter, the biggest shipping interest on the Coast, operates a large fleet of ships in the coast and intercoastal service and between Seattle and Alaskan and Oriental points. Both of these companies some time ago adopted the shop committee plan of employee representation. Before they began operating on this new system their labor troubles were legion; now they have none at all; both the employers and the men are satisfied. Substantial results are being obtained. By this, I mean increased efficiency and increased production.

#### *The Shop Committee on the Waterfront*

The shop committee plan also is to have a



CLYDE M. HADLEY      SAMUEL H. HEDGES

(Mr. Hadley is chairman of the Labor Relations Committee of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce. He is an attorney who for some years has made a special study of industrial relations. Mr. Hedges is president of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the commercial organization which has taken the lead in creating an enlightened and constructive labor party. He is an engineer, head of the Puget Sound Bridge and Dredging Company, and a large employer of labor)

test with about fifty firms engaged in business on Seattle's waterfront. These concerns employ about two thousand men, who find work with the city's sixty-five steamship lines and in the terminals. That the waterfront employers have confidence in the new labor policy may be judged from the fact that Seattle's shipping is a corner-stone in its business structure. Seattle waterfront terminals now handle about 5,000,000 tons of foreign and domestic cargo a year, having a total value of approximately \$800,000,000. Of this amount about \$600,000,000 is in foreign trade.

Seattle has had much the same trouble with waterfront labor as have the larger seaports on the Atlantic Coast. In the past its strikes have been many and have occurred at frequent intervals. In the new order of things to be tried there the waterfront employers and also a number of milling concerns, who are natural rivals in business, today are found working hand in hand and pulling together for industrial harmony. The employers on the Seattle docks and in the terminals maintain their own employment bureau. Through this the men's shop committee is elected. The committee representing the employers is appointed from the personnel of the firms, the firms standing for the new policy.

Many well-informed employers believe that within a comparatively short time a large number of other Seattle industrial plants will have installed some form of employee representation.

*What Makes the Shop Committee Successful?*

Seattle companies have found the essentials for success of the shop committee system to be these:

(1) That the employees themselves must understand it and favor its installation. While such desire may be encouraged by the management, yet an attempt on its part to install a system arbitrarily spells failure. Employees are naturally suspicious of innovations forced upon them.

(2) That the management be genuine in its desire to establish better relations, be willing to trust much to the fairness of the employees, be willing to abide by decisions as arrived at, and never under any circumstances connive at some hidden or secret advantage.

(3) That the organization be such as to permit and encourage free and candid interchange of ideas between employees and management and to provide for prompt decisions upon all matters discussed.

These fundamentals, in fact, are regarded as of such importance that they have been included in this form in the report of the Labor Relations Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, to which I have referred.

In Seattle, as elsewhere, the shop committee plan of employee representation is not being used as a weapon to strike at unionism. Thus far Seattle has not made that mistake. In industrial plants where the shop committee system has been employed as a camouflage or a sort of smoke screen for a warfare on organized labor the system invariably has failed.

What the Bloedel-Donovan Mills and the Pacific Steamship Company really have, and what other industries in Seattle are coming to, is industrial democracy and the true committee form of representation. This is one in which a committee elected by the employees meets jointly with a group representative of the management, the authority of the two being usually equal. This kind of industrial democracy is a form of government and management, and not an "ism."

*Sincerity Wins*

In its attitude toward employee representation in industry Seattle labor will be inclined to judge separately each plan in which the system is installed. If the labor leaders find out that the management through this means plans a fight on unionism they will fight back. On the other hand, if the facts show the employer to be sincere in his efforts to gain the confidence of his men and establish contact with them through this system of employee representation union labor will undoubtedly give that plant its cooperation and support. It is turning out this way in the Bloedel-Donovan Lumber Mills and also with the Pacific Steamship Company. Both of these companies have union and non-union men on their shop committees and throughout their plants. They are getting along harmoniously in their work. The union men are as enthusiastic about the shop committee system as the non-union men because no favoritism is shown as between the two.

While Seattle as yet has not achieved the ideal, it has emerged from the transition period and is confident that its new policy will result in a lasting peace in its industrial life. At any rate it may be safely said that the labor situation there is as satisfactory and as bright with promise as that in any American city.





WHY FORESTRY PAYS

(The land in the foreground is privately owned, while that beginning at the line of timber is in a National Forest. The same lumber company cut over both forests. On the private land there was no restriction. The timber on the National Forest was cut under the regulations, and will produce uninterruptedly, while the private land is now an abandoned waste)

## THE LUMBER FAMINE

BY PAUL V. COLLINS

**W**OMEN in tears are appealing to authorities of a Midwestern city for homes. So reports a local paper. The women urge that relief of the house famine must come before the arrival of winter, with its possibilities of thirty degrees below zero. They represent well-to-do families, able and willing to pay reasonable rents, but unable to find homes at any price. In the absence of apartments or houses, there is rising a tarpaper-shack suburb, while the houses that do exist in the city are overcrowded to such an extent that sanitation is in danger.

Twenty-five years ago that city was the center of the greatest lumber production in America; to-day it has scarcely a small saw-mill, for the "big woods" that fed it are gone, and the stumpage is charred and cheerless.

"To your tents, oh Israel!" may yet become the slogan of America, unless Edison's "poured houses" of concrete, or the Mexican's adobe, or the gypsy's open life, fill the need.

True, a Chicago news item alleges that there has been such an exodus from that city

as to leave 7000 homes vacant, and suggests that a similar hegira threatens all cities. But the census of 1920 shows that for the first time in our history our "urban population" exceeds the "rural population." (It must be understood that "rural population" does not mean farmers alone, but includes those in towns of 2500 or less).

There is an undeniable house shortage, not only in one city but throughout the nation—throughout the world. So destructive were the bombs of battle in the World War that not merely shots were fired which were "heard round the world" but which carried physical destruction to the uttermost parts thereof. We who had palled at the debris of the battlefield—where whole cities were dead, their walls stark and tenantless, by reason of war's devastation—return to America to find, not shattered walls and roofless homes, but, as war's legacy, even in America, 500,000 needed but unbuilt homes (according to the Bureau of Corporations) of which only 70,000 were erected in the year after the war. This shortage would house at least 2 per cent. of our entire population.

While it is too early to know the building statistics for 1920, it is appalling to consider the conditions under which the builders are working—the skyrocketing of both labor and wages and lumber prices. It is inconceivable that as many homes have been built this year as last.

Somehow the conditions which check erection affect home-building disproportionately, as compared with business and industrial buildings. Normally, 30 per cent. of permits are for dwellings; but in 1919 the proportion was only 15 per cent. This means that the stimulation of industries in the cities has exceeded the immediate willingness to put capital into comfortable living; and so families are crowded together, sanitation suffers, and rents are nightmares, while the early future holds little hope of relief.

#### *Exorbitant Price of Lumber.*

There appears no rhyme nor reason for the astounding rise in lumber prices. Take North Carolina pine for example: Flooring which sold in 1914, at Wilmington, N. C., for \$25 and in New York City for \$38, sold last February in Wilmington for \$98.50 and in New York for \$150. Partition and ceiling showed equal jumps, quadrupling and sextupling in price.

Southern yellow pine boards sold in 1915 for \$33, and in 1918, in spite of the war, for less than \$40. In 1920 it suddenly jumped

to \$130 and \$140. White pine sold in 1900 for less than \$50 and in 1915 at about \$100, and leaped in 1920 to \$260.

In Pittsburgh, in 1913, a home builder paid \$27 for No. 1 common dimension, which in 1920 costs him \$72. Oak flooring cost, in Pittsburgh, \$70 in 1913, and in the early part of 1920, \$290, with a drop to \$282 by October 1. Quartered oak all this year has been "firm" at \$352.

The above price quotations for last February are based on official data of the Forest Service, quoted in the report to the Senate. Certain lumber interests object to the citing of those prices at this later date (October 1), claiming that they are now unfair, "for prices have returned to normal."

The Forest Service has no data later than February; but the writer finds that Washington contractors report comparatively slight changes.

One year ago last May, oak flooring sold in Washington at \$87, while on October 1, 1920, it cost from \$160 to \$175. Is that returning to "normal prices"?

Of course Washington prices are lower than the markets of New York and Pittsburgh, owing to greater proximity to the forests. The *New York Lumber Trade Journal* (September 15) quoted North Carolina lumber at prices which indicated a 10 per cent. drop as compared with the February scale.

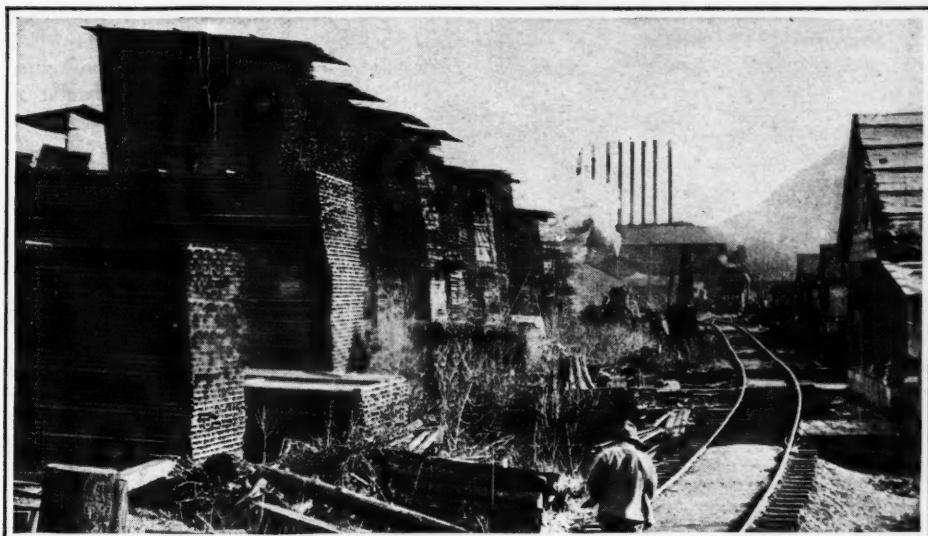
To illustrate the widespread conditions: A house built in St. Paul, Minn., in 1915, from certain architectural plans, cost \$4240 (not including plumbing, heating, and wiring), and in October, 1919, that house could have been built for \$7724; but less than six months later in February, 1920, it could not be built from the identical plans for less than \$11,820. The lumber and millwork alone, in 1920, cost more than the entire house had cost in 1913. The lumber had increased 304 per cent. and the millwork 222 per cent.

A similar instance in Washington, D. C.: A house built in 1913 cost \$4771, and from the same plans in 1920 it cost \$11,465. Ready-cut



LOG CHUTE

(Chutes like the one shown above are used to move logs down steep slopes to a point where they can be handled with horses or machinery. The timbers forming the chute are kept greased, and the logs come down under their own power. The land to the left in the picture is privately owned and has been cut under destructive methods of logging, with no thought for the future stand)



A LUMBER MILL AT THE EDGE OF A FOREST

(The slopes in distance are timber covered, and in the foreground stumps can be distinguished. There are many signs of haste and carelessness)

houses, which were quoted at \$883 in 1913, cost \$3272 in 1920; and another company quoted one in 1913 at \$1995, and the same in 1920 at \$5606.

#### *Effect on Development.*

While these increases in cost of home-building are annoying, to express it gently, and tend to personal discomfort of the families in their overcrowded rooms or tar-paper shacks, the effect does not end there by any means.

The farmer is the greatest user of lumber, as he requires for building and repairs an average of 2000 square feet a year, per farm, while city residents average less than 300 feet. Forty-six per cent. of all wood used in the nation is required on its farms. With the cost of lumber so exorbitantly enhanced, and with the difficulty of obtaining it so increased, the farmer's business is crippled far more seriously than any embarrassment of the city home-seeker. In addition, he requires wood for containers to market his farm products. Every implement and tool requires hardwood lumber in its structure and handles. Without a supply of lumber, the farmer can neither produce nor market his crops, nor keep his many buildings in repair. And the ultimate consumer pays his lumber bill in added cost of the food he brings to market. Even the wood fuel of the farm is an item of some eighty million

cords, which go directly from the woodlot to the farm stoves.

Ten or twenty years ago the Midwestern farmer bought his sheathing for \$15, for which he must now pay \$75; or, if he wants a better grade of finish, as high as \$150.

The result is that farm building for 1920, is reported by hundreds of county agents as having fallen to half of its normal average, and even repairs have dropped a third. This tends to make the farm not only less productive but less attractive, thereby increasing the difficulty of holding the ambitious sons and daughters in the lines of agriculture.

#### *The General Outlook.*

These are some of the typical details of the timber famine, which has come upon the homes and farms and factories of the country; but the real seriousness of the situation can not be grasped from details.

Taking the situation broadly, we find, according to a report of the U. S. Forest Service recently issued, that over one-half original forests of the United States have been culled, cut-over or burned, and three-fifths of the original supply of timber is gone—without being replenished—while we are continuing to use the remaining resources four times as fast as our forest growth.

There remain only 2215 billion board feet, which is suffering a net decrease of

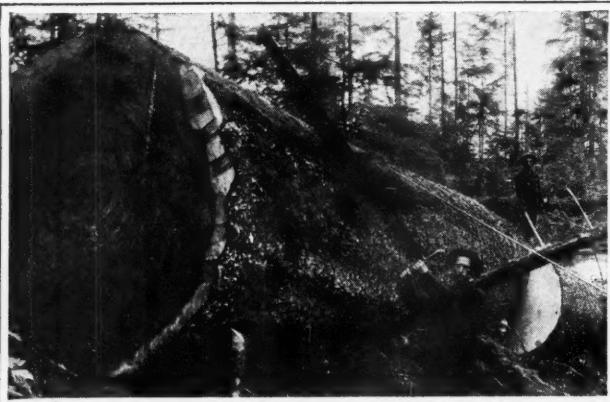


Photo by Gifford &amp; Prentiss

## SAWING A SPRUCE LOG INTO LENGTHS

(A week's job, perhaps, for the average man—but easy enough for the skilful lumberjack)

twenty billion cubic feet a year. While even those figures would indicate that all will not be gone for a hundred years, it is well to realize that in practical application of conditions we are not dealing with a century hence but rather with the next decade, if not with to-day.

By 1930 the South, from which we are now getting most of the supplies for the territory east of the Mississippi, will produce no more lumber than its own requirements. While it will continue to export certain quantities of high-priced lumber, all exports will have to be offset by imports of cheaper varieties from other parts of the country. New Hampshire, for illustration, now gets lumber from Oregon and Washington to build summer cottages in New England woods. So the South will depend on the Pacific Coast to make up at least all she expects after the next decade, and in fifteen years even the South will be importing from the Pacific Coast, for her own use.

In West Virginia, one of the leading hardwood-producing States, the length of cut, on a large scale, will not exceed five years, and most of the mills will quit within ten years, according to one of the best-informed lumbermen of that region.

Even in the Pacific Coast

States the supply is not inexhaustible. Only a third of the original privately owned timber of Puget Sound remains. In Gray's Harbor County, twenty years ago, there were 750,000 acres of virgin timber, now there are 355,000 acres of stumps; and in twenty-five years all privately owned virgin timber will be gone. In western Washington the supply will last only forty-two years, even at the rate of depletion of the last decade—which is sure to be augmented by increasing demand. In eastern Washington the end will come in twenty-six years, if not in twenty. California is

likely to hold out for twenty-eight years, at the present rate of depletion; but, with the rest of the country stripped, the demand upon California will increase immeasurably.

In all these States, what has been cut hitherto has been the most accessible; hereafter it will be necessary to go farther back, with added cost of production. More than half of the country's timber resources are now in California, Oregon, and Washington. We are using annually 26 billion cubic feet, and growing only six.

## Long Hauls an Important Factor.

The aggregate supply of the country is not the final answer to the lumber question,

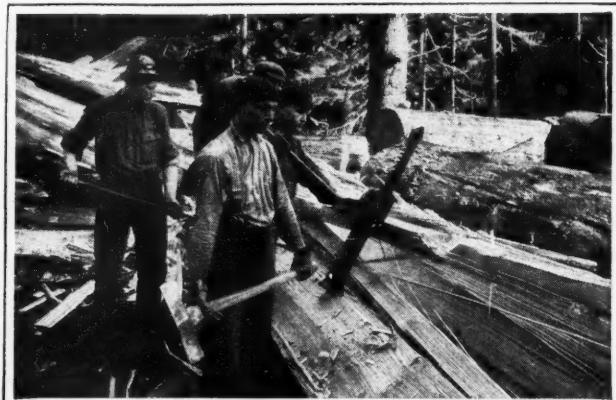


Photo by Gifford &amp; Prentiss

## RIVING SPRUCE CUTS

(During the war when the demand for airplane timber was so acute, various measures were adopted to increase the supply. Big spruce logs too far from the railroad to be easily handled were split by power-jacks and other methods that the ingenuity of the logger suggested)



LOGGING WITH BIG WHEELS IN GEORGIA

(The logs are swung underneath the wheels and the ends are allowed to drag. This method is extensively used in the South and in other parts of the country where the ground is level)

for the index of the situation is not the total quantity but its practical availability. There are more people east of Indiana than there are west, but 61 per cent. of the lumber supply is nearly two thousand miles west of the center of population. It is not merely the excessive cost of freights, but the impossibility of getting cars enough for prompt delivery across the continent, which embarrasses builders.

With so large a portion of our supplies in a limited area, weather conditions and

labor strikes are important factors to reckon with. It costs from 200 to 250 per cent. more to manufacture lumber, after the timber is got, than it did in 1916; and as there is less competition due to low stocks and car shortage it is easier to spread the margin of profits and to take unfair advantage of local conditions and supply and demand.

Half of the timber now in private ownership is held by 250 men. A multimillionaire, one of the 250 big timber owners, chuckled as he remarked to the writer, a few



DESTRUCTIVE LUMBERING IN LONGLEAF PINE

(The only trees left are diseased, broken, or infirm. The inflammable debris from logging forms a fire-trap; and when the area burns over, as it is sure to do, the few trees remaining will be killed or badly damaged. This sort of treatment has resulted in the virtual denudation of millions of acres of longleaf pine lands, and in so depleting the supply that in ten years the South will produce no more timber than it will need for its own use)



LUMBERING MATURE YELLOW PINE ON THE COCONINO NATIONAL FOREST, ARIZONA

(In the Southwest there are vast areas of this pine, which typically form an open forest for lack of moisture to support a dense stand. The problem of the forester is to be sure of reforestation. Seed is produced in abundance only once in three or four years, and unless there are also unusually favorable weather conditions little reproduction comes through. In the background are characteristic little clumps of half-grown pine which managed to survive. On an average twenty years must be allowed for general reproduction to take place)

weeks ago: "During the war we were not allowed to sell our timber to our customers; now we've a right to get even and make up our losses—and we're doing it."

Yes, they have strained the old railroad maxim of charging "all the traffic will bear," according to local demands, regardless of actual cost of supply. Conditions and prices are arbitrarily controlled. So it is found that eastern consumers are charged 50 per cent. more, in addition to the freight, than Oregon customers pay.

Some mills retail locally at wholesale prices, or even less, for the purpose of stimulating local development. For example, redwood level siding is sold in California at \$43, and the freight to Dayton, Ohio, is \$8.50 per thousand feet; but the price in Dayton last February was \$130.00 and in September \$120.00.

In the report of the Forest Service, W. B. Greeley, Forester, says: "While the costs of manufacturing lumber at least doubled, as compared with 1916, lumber prices have much more than doubled, and have become wholly disproportionate to operating costs. . . . Prices, indeed, were so excessive in the spring of 1920 that buying was automatically checked."

All of this indicates that the profiteer has "taken to the woods," both literally and figuratively, with resulting shortage of homes and crippling of agriculture and of many lines of manufacture, such as furniture and musical instruments.

#### *What to Do About It.*

It is well recognized that if all the land which is better adapted for forestry than for farming were kept busy reproducing timber, there would be an ample supply perpetually. But it is useless to appeal to the far-flung patriotism of owners of cut-over land, to induce them to replant forests amid their stumps, since the harvest therefrom can not be reaped in less than 100 years.

If our forests were harvested each year, according to scientific rules of forestry, they would yield their proper amount of matured timber, with no lessening of their ability for self-replenishment through natural reseeding, from the remaining trees. But when land is ravished by a complete cut-over, the lumberer is simply emulating the greedy one who refused to wait for the daily egg of gold, and killed the goose to get all at once.

There is indeed a personal liability of the land-owner to the general welfare of the

country, since his act causes lasting injury to the nation, in destroying the potential forests of perpetuity. The time has come for American laws similar to those of Europe, making it a penal offense to cut down a forest without regard to conserving its ability to reseed.

In response to Senator Capper's resolution, the experts of the Forest Service submit recommendations of how to meet the crisis, and they urge that laws be passed looking to coöperation between the federal Government and the States, to require land-owners to reforest their cut-over land, and to comply more rigidly with rules of fire protection, for all of which there should be both State and federal aid.

The proposal is that the Government shall appropriate \$1,000,000 a year, and later double that (a trifling sum in comparison with the interests at stake), as a fund with which the Department of Agriculture would coöperate with the States—these in turn to make proportionally equivalent appropriations. All the work would be under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, or at least subject to his approval.

At present, only a fifth of the timber land belongs to the Government, and it is recom-

mended that the public should own half. To that end, the Government should continue to buy forests and cut-over land, under the Weeks Act, with an appropriation of \$2,000,000 a year, and the Secretary of Agriculture should also be authorized to exchange national forest land for private timber land within or adjoining National Forests, with a view to consolidating forests, under Government control, and especially to protect water-sheds of navigable streams.

Systematic reforestation of denuded lands, to be completed within twenty years, is urged, at an estimated cost of \$1,000,000 a year.

A survey and official designation of all forest resources, costing \$3,000,000 annually for from two to four years, is recommended.

As the chief reliance must lie in fire protection, the federal and State governments should work together in improving fire patrol and police regulations; and land owners, whether of timber or cut-over, should be held to stricter compliance with such laws.

All timbered or cut-over land, in State or private ownership, which is not now required for other uses than timber, should be classed as "forest land" and placed under direct control of the State forest organization.



HOW TIMBER IS CUT ON A NATIONAL FOREST

(The mature, dead and diseased trees are cut; the stumps are low and all the merchantable material is used. The brush and other debris are piled and burned. The young trees that are left will grow vigorously and form a new crop in a few years. By such means must provision be made for our future timber needs. The scene is in the Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota.)

# BANKS AND MILLS OF NEW ENGLAND

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

THE embarrassment of six banking institutions in Boston can be no surprise and cause no apprehension to one who has been at the pains to find the underlying conditions of trade, banking, and business in New England for a year past.

In one of the lesser but active cities of any region, it is easier to see things as they are than in a city of the first rank. In Boston, for three weeks in February, I saw that all was not as it should be in business and banking; but it was not until July that I had the opportunity to see what was taking place in a city of from 20,000 to 25,000 population.

Beautiful for situation, this place is the joy of all who see its prospect of lake and of mountain—a view as view without a superior so far as my wide wandering goes. They are fortunate who share its hospitality or live within its boundaries. American to the core, with a university crowning its hill, the city possesses touches of the seemly architecture of a century ago—thrifty, prosperous, fair, with tree-clad streets and houses standing separate, almost a house to a family, and tenements holding two, four or six families infrequent. I cherish its memory, though for obvious reasons I do not here inscribe its name.

## *A Small City's War Experience*

The city ran in the past six years through an experience common to many places. Its three chief industries, a woolen mill, a wire-screen factory, and one of chocolate candies, had enlarging business through the second year of the war, with the usual doubt as to the near future entailing caution and a general desire to provide savings for any contingency registered in savings-bank accounts, growing in number and amount.

Prosperous from the increased demand of 1916, when the United States went into the war in 1917 the city had the usual stress and strain as its young men were drawn into the army, and such young men—strong, agile, of the fighting spirit for a century, with quotas

full in every war of our history. A share, as large, of young women poured into active work and the place went clean “over the top” for every call, fiscal or personal.

## *Industrial Speeding Up*

The first shock over, the great stream of war expenditure began to turn faster its every wheel of industry. The woolen mill ran on three shifts, its looms always busy, its roster always full. The Government's demands pushed the wire-screen factory to its largest product. The modern army devours chocolate sugar, ten-fold more than any school girls that ever lived, and the windows of the candy factory flamed by night and girls equal to its needs were not to be had. Every lesser industry in wood and in stone, leaped forward. Small machine works were in demand. The wage-fund doubled and trebled.

## *Rising Expenditures*

Through 1917, the uncertainties of war kept local expenditure down. By 1918, the outlay of every family began to increase. Early and free buying in 1917 proved to be a wise economy, with prices rising every month. Why not in 1918? The excess profit tax stimulated advertising and the newspapers of the city found all past advertising in space and in receipts outdone. The outlay of every wage-earning family increased and most of all in families where daughters were drawing a weekly pay never enjoyed before. A man can spend on clothing and personal needs and make no great show. Not so with women. Prices not only rose, but the standard of feminine gear rose. Silk hosiery took the place of lisle. As skirts grew shorter their prices grew longer and the number of separate frocks grew more numerous. New demands came into vogue, as those old enough to recollect will remember how in the Civil War “art” made new demands on the household income and casual purchases in useless bric-à-brac, in reproductions, grew. Miscellaneous, very miscel-

laneous, periodicals increased in their sales. The really truly popular "novelists" like Wright and Zane Grey stood in rows in stores and circulating library shelves.

#### *The Reaction of Last Year*

As sales grew, rising prices added to profits and the excess profits tax fed advertising. Increasing business swept on this flood-tide through 1919. Suddenly in the end of the fall season of last year, in that uncertain period between November 20th and December 20th, when either new gilt is put on the ginger-bread of profits or cake half-baked is suddenly damped and dented in the very oven by a flagging fire, there was an ominous pause in public demand. The holiday season ended in disappointed hopes and goods unsold for many, if not for all. For eighteen months lavish advertising had brought lavish demands, but like other stimulants taken too long, the response once won was lacking on another dose. Not only excess profits, but a share of normal profits were poured out in advertising whose note grew more shrill, its type larger, its suggestion of reduced prices more frequent. Even this failed of full effect. The goods remained on the shelves. "Silk" or "near-silk" hosiery proved strangely transitory across the toes, and frocks faded. The place was "fed-up." "Art," once appealing, stood more or less exposed to the passing gaze, but brought no purchases. In nearly all lines, staple and transitory, the carry-over became ominous.

In May there comes in the season of the retail year the time when stores borrow from banks against their future sales in the fall. No bank will loan except on a statement from every customer. These statements showed that the leading retailers, in fact, pretty much everybody, were long on inventory and short on sales and profits. The banks were slow to loan, and urged that the goods already bought must be worked off before new paper could be discounted. Redoubled advertising followed, but again it was clear that this no longer had any effect. Prices began to be cut. But orders for next fall still waited on bank accommodation, withheld for sound banking reasons.

#### *Closing Factories*

Factories, however, cannot go on without orders in prospect. The three larger industries dropped to single shifts, reduced output, and then closed altogether. This cut off in a town of about 4000 families a weekly

Nov.—6

wage-fund of \$70,000. Lesser and subsidiary industries, large and small, shared in the stoppage. Prices were cut to force goods. Staples like "fruit of the loom" were cut close to replacement value. In various goods, shoes for instance, I saw some prices on the 1914 level. Food remained high and cut into the expenditure of wageless families. The woolen mill had bought land, sold it on easy terms, and encouraged its hands to buy and build. As men found themselves forced to go elsewhere for work, these houses, already built or building, were offered at prices which stood for a heavy loss. Liberty and Victory Bonds began to be sold. Their fall surprised and irritated men and women who began to realize that the Government, which had paid two and threefold for what it bought in goods, permitting circulation to inflate and increase prices, had insisted on people selling credit from patriotic grounds at rates lower than any other commodity, and this credit had been lavishly used in purchases which raised the prices of the necessities of life.

No adequate provision had been made by the banks to care at cheap rates for the single Government bond. The ordinary small dwelling contained no place where such a valuable could be kept in security. Government bonds were sold at the discounts current in June and July, and the proceeds clapped into the savings-bank account which had paid low interest, but which those who earn wages were in the habit of using and trusting. In this city, as all over the country, a priceless opportunity to train the multitude in direct investment was lost. Realty prices had their shock; loans on mortgage grew more sparing. This meant more persons out of work.

#### *How Inflation Was Promoted*

The summer passed on with decreasing orders, falling prices and cancellations of orders already made. Since loans were not easily obtained, current deposits began to be drawn out, and floating capital encroached upon. Distant trust companies were sought, some of whom loaned. The great textile industries, wool and cotton, are now sufficiently organized so that they act together. The banks could not lend because goods had not been sold. The unsold goods depressed prices, made the factories cautious in engagements for raw material and in manufacture. The stoppage of factories spread over New England. The resources of banks

and trust companies were drawn upon; but increasingly the great issues of bonds, purchased as investment or used as a safe and convenient way in which to invest working capital, were employed as a basis for loans.

These loans became the basis of the issue of more circulation. More circulation raised prices at the very time when lower prices were needed to move goods.

The Federal Reserve Act was passed in December, 1913, when at least one man who helped draw the law and became one of the first managers of the new system knew that war was near from his close relations to Berlin. Yet this great banking measure made no distinction between credits created by mercantile transactions and credits created by Government bond issues. The credits created by buying and selling were certain to be liquidated as each transaction was closed. The credits created by the new non-commercial and permanent debt of the Government, which issued \$25,000,000,000 of its securities, did not have to be liquidated. These bonds became the basis of new circulation, inflating our currency and creating illusory "money" at the very time when, as I have shown, in this single small but thriving city demand was dropping, bank accommodation was halted, prices were falling, and the overturn of trade diminishing.

Calls on deposits in banks, and particularly in trust companies, were under these conditions inevitable. This demand found weak spots in the banking center of New England whose smaller centers of manufacture had in general shared in the changes I have described.

#### *Mistake of Tardiness in War Preparation*

Fortunately these conditions are not speculative. The securities involved have behind them the best credit in the world, the credit of the United States. But credit, however good, cannot make up for errors in policy. In 1914, 1915, and 1916, war drew visibly near. If the Federal Administration had begun preparation for war in 1915 and, after the *Lusitania* was sunk, increased its army and navy, and created a new airplane and submarine service, as the country was ready to do, the arms and material needed would have been bought at prices far below those of 1917 and 1918, and without facing a range of prices forced up by the delay of the Government to prepare for an exigency clear to every sane observer.

Apparent political exigencies in the Presi-

dential campaign led both political parties to avoid declaring that war was near, and the United States must arm. As it did not arm in advance, it had to arm in headlong haste. The chart of prices shows that this policy, first, increased the cost of the war; second, made necessary the enormous issue of \$25,000,000,000; third, inflated currency; fourth, led to extravagant expenditure by the public on a scale at least as large as that of the Government. The result of these successive steps—first, a failure to prepare for war; second, Government expenditure unnecessary but for that blunder; third, an artificial public expenditure has brought us to an autumn of falling prices, a strain on bank deposits, and an inflated currency, raising prices artificially.

The effect on the center of our textile industry, New England, is apparent in the Boston bank closings. These have been attended by no "panic," but the quotations of the great industrial shares have fallen.

#### *Deflation, Here and Abroad*

Textiles show these changes first because they are nearest to the daily demand of the many. Other industries will go through the same liquidation. These will bring falling prices. These falling prices will reduce the demands for loans based on Government bonds. As these diminish our circulation will be deflated automatically. Such conditions call not for alarm but for prudence, caution, and economy on the part of the public, corporations, and, most of all, the Government.

In the last half of September the London *Times*, with a frankness not always shown by our own newspapers, pointed out a precisely similar situation in Great Britain. During the war the English Government added \$1,500,000,000 to British currency. Prices rose under the same double pressure as in this country. The government bought heavily of goods and at the same time inflated its currency. In 1919, as trade with other countries was resumed, great purchases were made by the continental countries in their depreciated currencies. When they came to sell these goods these local currencies had fallen still more. A year ago 36.62½ francs would buy £1 of goods. Last September it required 51.82½ francs to buy £1 of goods. Italian currency fell in the same time one-half in value. German currency fell still more. The mark, once 25 cents, is now worth less than 2 cents. Silver

fluctuations affected India, and a colossal stringency was only prevented by government interference.

The countries with these depreciated currencies could no longer buy either raw materials or manufactured articles. Great stocks of unsold goods accumulated in England. The textile industries in England began to shut down. A check came to the automobile output. Rubber fell because stocks increased and the reports of plantations in Assam, Ceylon, and Malaysia showed that they could turn out rubber at 12 cents a pound, delivered at port. Australia has two years' supply of wool grown under a government guaranty. "The English banks in London," says the *London Times*, "have lent so much money that they cannot lend any more without increasing the strain, already excessive, on their cash resources." This, it will be seen, is precisely what took place in the small New England city whose situation I have described.

The pressure on prices has been increased not only by a fall in staple products, but ocean freights have fallen one-half on the Atlantic and on the Suez Canal routes eastward. English coal has risen, partly because of the increase in wages and partly because of the decrease of production per man. With Atlantic freights cut, deliveries of American coal in some cases are being made at Mediterranean ports lower than English coal. High-priced goods are being warehoused in England to avoid sales; but in England, as in some quarters here, the banks have reached the limit of their loans, and sales on a falling market are inevitable.

#### *Our Currency Situation Better*

In spite of inflation in our own currency, the dollar is nearer a gold standard than the pound. We occupy the same advantageous position as England did with a sound currency between 1865 and 1880, when the currencies of Europe were thrown into confusion and heavily depreciated by the Austro-Prussian war (1866), the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871), the Vienna "Krach" (1873), the Russo-Turkish war (1876-1878), while our currency was depreciated until 1877 to 1879. To-day our currency is close to gold, while England shares the depreciated currency of the rest of the world. English wealth has never increased more, relatively, than between 1865 and 1880, when it had advantage of a sound currency which it has now lost and which we retain.

We resumed gold payments in 1879, when the product of gold and silver was increasing. The product of gold and silver is now decreasing. In 1912 the world's yearly output of gold was \$479,500,000; last year it was \$360,000,000, and is lower this year. The per capita gold in circulation doubled from 1893 to 1918, but it has been stationary for two years, and promises to remain so for some time.

The European countries with depreciated currencies from the Ural to the Channel are therefore warned by the Swedish financial expert, Professor Gustav Cassel, of Stockholm University, that they cannot restore their currencies to a gold standard as we did in 1879. They must accept the depreciation, stand the shock of values, and wipe off the loss. The League of Nations called in Professor Cassel to advise the Financial Conference which met at Brussels September 24, and his opinion has forced all these currencies to a lower level. Nor was England's currency exempt from fall.

#### *Conditions Generally Sound*

Such liquidation as is threatened for a small group of banks in Boston is part, and a small part, of a world movement. The United States Treasury gained in gold \$1,000,000,000 from December, 1913, to June, 1920, while in this period all the European countries gained only \$375,000,000. This is a fair measure of the security of our currency. A small decrease in prices will reach gold values here; a large fall in prices will be needed abroad. Our exports steadily increase and promise to be \$500,000,000 greater for 1920 than for 1919. In the current year commercial loans have risen \$3,000,000,000. The impending fall in prices will strain the credits and currencies of other lands. In this country it will have its effect, but, as prices fall, our domestic consumption and our exports will increase. Past profits will doubtless be absorbed in maintaining credits and carrying goods, but our total taxation, heavy as it may be, is to-day lighter than that of any other country in the war, our currency sounder, our national debt incurred smaller in amount per capita, and our gold supply greater. While at one point and another anxiety may come, the general structure of our credit, our banking, our production, and our corporations, our distribution and our exports is firmly based, though some liquidation must come. It is no time to take unnecessary risks.

# THE PUBLIC AND THE PRICE COLLAPSE

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

**I**N the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for last July I wrote of an impending collapse of the hugely inflated structure of prices, then beginning to show signs of deflation. Many were stoutly denying the possibility of collapse and business in general was unconvinced. Some lines were actually preparing to increase prices.

Now the collapse is here with a vengeance, and few have any doubts as to the permanence of most of the lower levels. There is indication that even lower levels will be reached. The situation is all too real and vivid, and the utmost ingenuity is demanded to prevent the price collapse from bringing a dangerous proportion of loss in its wake. When the drop was at last seen to be inevitable it was then hoped by many that the painful operation could be made gradual—that the stocks in the hands of retailers could be liquidated by means of a successive series of price reductions or in fact none at all until new goods, bought at new wholesale levels, were on the shelves.

But that was reckoning without the public, which had exercised its strike privilege—or boycott—with such good effect in starting the deflation process. This public, knowing of declines in wholesale prices, looked for a wholesome reflection in retail prices. Finding none, it continued to strike.

Then came one of the most effective economic denouements ever known—the announcement by Henry Ford of a return to pre-war prices on his automobiles, with a preachment on the duty of putting business on a pre-war footing as soon as possible through a general reduction in prices. The result was a price stampede, not so much in the automobile business as in general lines of merchandise. Within two days after the Ford announcement eighteen articles had dropped in price, and twenty days later over two hundred items of merchandise had markedly receded. Practically all merchandise, of every description, started on a downward career. It was not a mere puncture; it was a blowout!

## *Ratios of Decline in Nine Months*

The Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank at New York indicates the following declines in the first nine months of 1920:

Commodity	Per cent. decline from peak	Peak Month
Sugar	31.8	June
Wheat	18.8	May
Corn	33.4	May
Oats	50.0	May
Potatoes	76.7	April
Cotton	27.4	July
Wool	46.0	Jan.
Serge	11.1	July
Silk	72.0	Jan.
Hides	31.7	Jan.
Leather	17.8	Feb.
Rubber	42.4	Jan.

Mr. Ford is generally credited by business men and the public with having swung an effective axe upon the tottering war-time structure of high levels of value, purely by the power of example. Automobile manufacturers great and small met in troubled session and could not agree to follow Mr. Ford, leaving the matter to individual decision. By October 10 a total of twenty-six manufacturers (including Ford) had announced price reductions, averaging from 17 to 20 per cent. These manufacturers represent about three-fourths the total production.

The general extent of price reductions in all lines of merchandise, from a head of cabbage to a carload of lumber, has been more or less spectacular. Woolen-goods manufacturers cut 15 to 20 per cent. Silk is now 65 per cent. below the high peak of last winter. Hides are down to pre-war prices. Rubber is down to 27 cents (lower than at any time in its history), as compared with 52 and 53 cents at the beginning of the year. Flour has come down \$1 a barrel, wheat 25½ cents a bushel, and corn 43 cents a bushel. Pork has taken a drop from \$43.50 to \$31.50 a hundred pounds. Cotton-seed oil dropped from 22½ cents to 12½ cents a pound.

Leather is down from 60 cents to 56; cotton from 33.6 down to 24.5. In three great basic staples, corn, wheat, and cotton, \$4,000,000,000 in value has evaporated in little more than a month.

The articles more commonly in the public's budget have gone down at wholesale with no small slide. Sugar has now fallen to 11 cents (from 22) and has produced a most anomalous situation among the refiners and others whose contracts and commitments were large. Coffee has dropped from 15½ cents to 7½ cents—a decline of over 50 per cent. Tea has come down from 22 cents to 15 cents. Lard is off 8 cents a pound. Clothing has been coming down with almost no bottom in sight, further reductions being promised. It should be remembered that whereas the average war-time rise in price of other articles was 100 per cent., clothing went up 177 per cent.

The index figures collected by Dun and Bradstreet tell the tale statistically in mass. The Bradstreet index for prices of thirty-one articles a year ago was \$4.90, and on October 9 of this year it was \$4.24, a reduction of 13.4 per cent. The Dun figures indicate eighty-two price recessions and fifteen advances. Of the seventy-six commodities listed by Bradstreet's, ten advanced, thirty-six declined, and thirty remained unchanged.

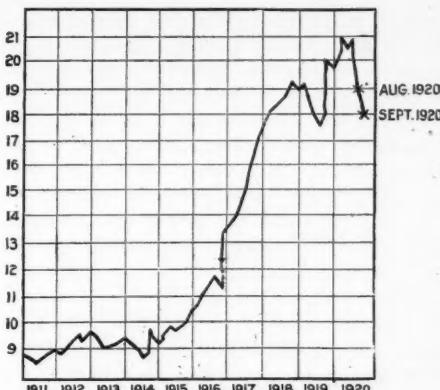
The Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Labor on September 19 indicated that potatoes had declined 44 per cent. in thirty days. Declines in food prices were reported general in fifty-one cities.

The farmers have been rather severely hit in a number of articles. The humble cabbage, which made small fortunes for many Long Island growers during the war when it reached \$80 a ton (and once touched \$120 a ton), has now dropped back to \$20; and some farmers at one time had to sell at \$4.

Cotton goods, which have been exceedingly high, took a tumble late in September. A large maker of cotton cloth announced a cut of one-third, and a leading shirt and collar manufacturer announced a 10 to 30 per cent. reduction.

The two big Chicago mail-order houses added to the list of large factors reducing prices by announcing on September 23 cuts of 10 to 25 per cent. from the prices printed in their latest catalogues.

Woolen mills reduced prices to a sufficient extent to take \$10.50 off the cost of an average suit of clothes. Suits that sold at \$50 are now \$30.



THE WAR-TIME PRICE STRUCTURE AND HOW IT IS COLLAPSING

(Based on Bradstreet's Index of 76 articles)

Lumber has been reduced 28 per cent., and other building materials also fell. A noticeable stimulation to building plans has resulted.

As for coal, an actual rise has occurred in hard coal, resulting in a number of investigations, to which the coal companies have replied that anthracite has increased only 71.8 per cent. over pre-war prices as against 172.7 per cent. in bituminous coal, 114.5 per cent. in metals, and 247.7 per cent. in foods.

Speaking of metals, their price condition is mixed. Iron is much higher than a year ago. Tin has receded from 55 to 42, while copper is glutted and slow, having declined from 23½ to 17½ cents a pound.

At the convention of the Purchasing Agents' Association in Chicago on October 10 it was predicted that prices would decline as much as 50 per cent. in the next six months—an indication of how expert buyers regard the situation.

The public has been an avaricious reader about price reductions, the subject receiving display headlines constantly in the newspapers; but it has waited in vain for corresponding drops in *retail* prices in many lines. Although sugar is now 11 cents, candy still holds forth at the old high prices of 60 cents to \$1.50 a pound. The situation, nationwide and most significant, is that dealers are stocked heavily with goods bought at high prices and are extremely reluctant to unload at a loss.

The public has, however, steadfastly refused to buy with any freedom, and is literally laying siege upon the retailers. It is believed that "the impossible" must happen:

dealers' stocks must be moved, even if at loss. It is conceded to be economically unsound for business to refuse to follow the natural laws of economics by holding out for prices based on the costs of yesterday. It is cynically pointed out that dealers did not want to raise prices almost daily when the market went the other way. Bankers have pointed out the fact that cuts in prices are producing sales—thereby easing credits and releasing millions in capital.

High prices have greatly stimulated the Coöperative Society of America, which has forty grocery stores and is opening three or four per week, and has 35,000 members, claiming prices 25 per cent. less than other stores. These stores operate on the famous Rockdale plan in England, where they have 9,000,000 members.

The downward career of prices, it cannot be denied, has produced a certain amount of

business chaos. It has clogged both production and distribution in a manner that is serious, for the time being at least. Production has been rather widely curtailed. Automobile plants are running on greatly reduced schedules, and tire factories on a 50 per cent. basis. Copper production has been cut in half in some large plants.

The sugar situation is an indicator of the crisis precipitated in many lines of trade. Retailers had been told that sugar might go up to 35 cents in October, and a large supply was laid in and contracted for. Wholesalers were "in the same boat." Delivery made now, to be paid for at 22 cents when the market price is just half that sum, is a bitter pill and a hard loss to bear. A high level of honor is being maintained, however, in not "welching" on such contracts; but the public in many cases is being asked to pay and is, naturally, balking.

## HOSPITALS FOR EX-SERVICE MEN

### HOW NEW YORK STATE HAS DECIDED TO COÖPERATE WITH THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

WHILE the country has by no means worked out its proper and complete program for giving the promised care to the many thousands of disabled young men who served in the Army and Navy while we were actively at war, there are reasons to think that much progress will be made in the near future. Some very ambitious programs had been presented to Congress, one of which would have called for the expenditure of something like \$100,000,000 for the building of hospitals in which to take care of the medical, surgical and mental cases of disability. To have carried out such a plan would have been not only very costly, but very slow. Such a plan was in fact contemplating an immense public health and hospital organization for civilian purposes, looking far beyond the needs of the ex-service men.

Fortunately, better judgment is asserting itself, and our actual problems are being solved in a more prompt and practical manner. Under the direction of the Secretary of War, and under that of the Secretary of the Navy, there are already in existence large hospital facilities which to a consider-

able extent can be utilized for the care of the ex-service men in coöperation with the War Risk Bureau, which now has administrative control of the money appropriated by Congress. These two departments, through their medical services, have been ready and willing to coöperate to the utmost.

Another great opportunity for extending the right kind of help to the disabled soldiers and sailors of the recent war lies in the facilities under control of the Board of Managers of the National Soldiers' Homes—a series of splendid institutions created many years ago for volunteer soldiers of the Civil War. It is now more than half a century since the soldiers of that war were discharged, and the survivors who are domiciled in the Soldiers' Homes grow fewer from year to year. It has been found possible to utilize the buildings and hospital wards of some of these soldiers' homes for the disabled men of the recent conflict. Thus the home at Johnson City, Tennessee, has been converted into a special hospital for ex-service men affected with tuberculosis. The authorities in administrative control of sol-

ders' homes have acted most cordially and intelligently, in unison with the War Risk Bureau, for the welfare of the young men who have recently lost their health in the nation's service.

Finally, the States are showing a disposition to coöperate with the national Government on definite lines of policy which look wisely to the future, while meeting the demands of the present. Scattered throughout hundreds of State, municipal and other hospitals, sanitaria and institutions, are many thousands of service men, who are being cared for at the expense of the national Government through the War Risk Bureau, and whose medical and surgical treatment is under inspection of the United States Public Health Service. The most noteworthy step in this scheme of coöperation between State and national Government has been taken by New York.

At the recent extra session of the New York State legislature at Albany, held late in September, an emergency act was passed by unanimous consent "to provide for the construction by the State of a hospital for discharged soldiers, sailors and marines from the State of New York suffering from mental diseases and making an appropriation therefor." This action was taken in consequence of a special message sent to the legislature by Governor Alfred E. Smith. Included in his message was a letter from Col. R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, Director of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance at Washington, which requested action by the State of New York and explained the circumstances. We are therefore quoting the Governor's message, with the Director's letter incorporated in it, as explaining the necessities and the proposed plans.

STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
September 20, 1920.

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

My attention has been called to a grave situation in relation to the care and treatment of veterans of the world war who have become mentally disabled. There are eight hundred and forty-five ex-service men and women, suffering from mental disorders, being cared for in State institutions. Their average age is under twenty-five, and in most cases they are suffering from the early stages of the disease; whereas the age of the average other patients in the State hospitals is above fifty-five years, and in most cases the disease is chronic.

These disabled men and women of the world war cannot receive the proper treatment under the present system. They should be segregated

into one institution at the earliest possible moment, in which event, I am informed, a great majority of them may be cured.

The following communication received by me from R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, Director of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of the United States Government, explains the situation in detail, viz.:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON

August 19, 1920.

HONORABLE ALFRED E. SMITH,  
Governor of the State of New York,  
Albany, New York.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:

In the Government's program for the care and treatment of its disabled veterans of the world war, much difficulty has been experienced in the securing of adequate hospital facilities. This has made it necessary for the Government to send a very large number of the sick and disabled men to private, State and county hospitals and sanatoriums.

At the present time there are about nineteen thousand disabled ex-service men and women scattered in more than a thousand hospitals throughout the United States. In New York, for instance, there were on August 1 reported 1850 disabled men and women in 147 hospitals. This scattering of patients in such a large number of hospitals and sanatoriums makes proper Governmental supervision of their treatment and cure most unsatisfactory, not only to the Government, but to the patients themselves.

The problem of the care of the mentally sick veterans has proven particularly complex and difficult, and in many localities it has been found impossible to secure hospital facilities of proper construction under medical administration in conformity with the best type of modern practice.

In New York State, for example, on August 1 there were reported 845 ex-service men and women suffering from mental disorders who were being cared for in thirty-nine hospitals and sanatoriums, including State institutions. The Government is expending at the present time about \$400,000 for the care of approximately 443 patients in New York State hospitals annually. At this same rate were all the ex-service men suffering from mental and nervous disorders in New York State cared for by New York State hospitals, the Government would be expending for such cases more than \$770,000 annually.

The situation as regards the care and treatment of these mental patients of the world war affects very much the world war veterans of New York State—not because the rate of insanity is higher in New York State than in other States, but because of the very large quota of troops furnished by New York State in the recent war.

It is the bounden duty of the Government so to prepare itself at the earliest possible moment that it may properly care for the mentally diseased veterans of the world war in special psychiatric hospitals. This task must be approached with a profound regard for the rights of the disabled soldier and his relatives. In the State of New York the hospitals for the insane are not charitable institutions in the strict sense of the word, yet they are so regarded by many relatives of the ex-service men, and on this account there is a little reluctance to make use of them.

Of far greater importance, however, is the fact that medically and socially the insane ex-service man presents problems far different from those for which the great institutions of your State were created and are maintained. The average age of the ex-service men in the New York State hospitals is under twenty-five years while, I am informed, the average of the other patients is above fifty-five years. The ex-service insane man is in the early stages of the disease, and, therefore, has a greater opportunity for recovery under suitable treatment. The civilian patients, on the other hand, in the New York State hospitals represent very largely the terminal stages of insanity. Buildings, methods of treatment, recreation, and occupation which are suitable for the treatment of the somewhat elderly and more chronic patients, are obviously not equally well adapted for young ex-soldiers.

The Government of the United States is without adequate hospital facilities in the State of New York for the reception and care of its insane beneficiaries in their State. A considerable time would of necessity elapse before the Government could construct such facilities, even though it were considered wise to do so and the appropriations had been made by Congress and were now available. It therefore becomes necessary for the Government to seek the assistance of the State of New York. To this end I would invite your consideration to a plan calculated to meet the immediate emergency, at the same time making adequate provisions for the future care and treatment of the civilian patients of New York State, since in the interim the Government would have sufficient opportunity for developing its facilities for the care and treatment of the sick and disabled veterans.

If the State of New York would immediately undertake the completion of the Marcy Division of the Utica State Hospital so that it could receive these beneficiaries at a per diem rate to be agreed upon by the Government of the United States and the State of New York, the immediate problem would be greatly simplified.

I would recommend that an appropriation be secured from the Legislature of the State of New York during its forthcoming special session for the construction and equipment of a thousand-bed hospital for the insane, to be located at a strategic point, and to be erected and outfitted in accordance with the best views of modern psychiatrists. Further, that the Governor be authorized to enter into a contract with the United States whereby the Government shall take over and operate this institution under lease for a term of years contingent upon Congressional appropriations.

In this way, the institution would be gradually paying for itself, the rentals constituting a credit in the Treasury of the States, and upon the relinquishment of the property by the Government, the State would be in possession of a modern institution at little or no cost, which would be an excellent addition to the already admirable system of State hospitals at a time when, in all human probability, there would be a great need for such an institution by the State.

I sincerely hope you will regard this proposal as sufficiently practical to include it in your message to the special session of the State Legislature, in order that the matter may be given consideration at the earliest practical moment.

If it meets with your approval, and at such time as is convenient to you, the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service and I will be very glad, indeed, to call upon you in order that all of the important details may be gone into very thoroughly.

Sincerely yours,

R. G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, Director."

I therefore recommend an appropriation for the construction and equipment of an additional hospital to take care of these disabled veterans of the world war, and also recommend the enactment of legislation authorizing the Governor to enter into a contract with the United States Government to take over and operate such hospital.

(Signed) ALFRED E. SMITH.

The bill as passed in pursuance of Governor Smith's message provides for a commission to proceed at once to construct the New York military hospital. This commission is to make an agreement with the War Risk Bureau, under which the hospital is to be rented to the United States for a term of ten years. The hospital is to be built upon land already selected for a State hospital on Long Island in the vicinity of Brooklyn. The law waives all provisions which might delay construction, and the State Architect and the Hospital Commission are authorized to proceed rapidly. The appropriation for this hospital is \$3,000,000.

Doubtless within a year from the present November, mentally afflicted service men will be cared for in this new and model institution. When its facilities are no longer needed by the wards of the national Government, the establishment will, through termination of lease, be available for the use of the State as one of its series of public institutions. Meanwhile, the rentals paid by the national Government will have reimbursed the State, and the plan will have been beneficial from every standpoint. The hospital is to have capacity for a thousand beds and will afford opportunity for taking the young ex-service men suffering from mental disorders away from the conditions existing in other asylums, where the average age is far greater and the majority of cases more chronic in character.

This well conceived project illustrates the possibility of doing much for the ex-service men through intelligent adaptation of means to ends. There still remains great opportunities for cooperative plans between the national and State Governments for the settlement of ex-soldiers on land, along the lines so convincingly advocated by Secretary Lane and supported by many members of Congress.

A. S.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## THE NEW FRENCH PRESIDENT AND THE CONSTITUTION

THE candidacy and election of M. Millerand to the French Presidency attracted unusual attention the world over, not only because of M. Millerand's recent prominence in international affairs, but also because M. Millerand laid down certain definite conditions on which alone he would accept the office. The London *Spectator* observes that this is the first time that a Presidential candidate in France has associated himself with a definite political program. This, in fact, was the same program which M. Millerand issued at the General Election a year ago. He then outlined a scheme of constitutional reform, one of the objects of which was to prevent the further encroachment of Parliament on the domain of the Executive.

M. Millerand, to quote the *Times* correspondent, would like to see the President "not merely the chief Parliamentarian but actually the real representative of France." For this purpose he advocates an extension of the franchise on which the President is elected. The President would be chosen not merely, as now, by the members of the Chamber and the Senate, but by delegates from the regional councils, the large corporations of employers and workmen, agricultural, commercial and industrial interests, and also by representatives of the intellectual professions and the artistic classes. Nor would M. Millerand confine franchise reform to the election of the President. He hopes that the principle of professional representation will be introduced into Parliament. It is strange, by the way, that the Socialists should now be opposing a man who suggests such a reform as this, for "vocational representation" is one of the popular socialistic ideas of the day. The explanation, of course, is that M. Millerand embeds this idea in a great many other proposals which the Socialists dislike. Needless to say, all these franchise reforms would take a long time to build up, and when we write, the new President is being elected on the old system by both Houses of Parliament in Congress at Versailles. M. Millerand, with all his conditions, is supported by the whole of the Monarchist Right, by the Conservative Center and by moderate Radicals. The opposition is composed roughly of the pure Socialists and the Radical Socialists.

Observing that it is frequently characteristic of politicians to moderate their views with experience, the *Spectator* points out that when M. Millerand first came into prominence in the early eighties he was a Socialist pure and simple and took part in organizing minor strikes. About 1893 he was the guiding spirit in bringing about the union of the French Socialists with their Radical allies, and for several years in collaboration with M. Jaurès, he was the leader of this alliance.

Drastic social reform without revolution was the purpose of his party. He did a really great work for French Labor while all the time interesting himself in "high politics" and trying to ensure the safety and credit of France. For example, he joined the Ministry of 1898 for the revision of the Dreyfus Case. He was also a member of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's "Ministry of Republican Defense" from 1899-1902. He joined that Ministry with the full sanction of his Socialist colleagues, Messrs. Jaurès, Viviani, and Briand. By that time, however, he had already become too sound and temperate a statesman to satisfy the extremists of his party, and in 1901 he was expelled from the Congress of the Socialist Party by the revolutionary majority. Messrs. Viviani and Briand suffered the same fate. That episode did not prevent M. Millerand from continuing his services to Labor. In a sense it may greatly have helped him, because the Right and Center well understood that he was above all a good Frenchman who desired only reforms which were compatible with the security of France. It thus came about that he had not much difficulty in setting up Labor Councils, shortening the working day, and introducing other practical changes which were somewhat overdue in France twenty years ago. The part played by M. Millerand during and since the war is too recent to need recalling.

Referring to the conditions laid down by M. Millerand for his acceptance of the Presidency, the *Spectator* remarks that the French Constitution gives the President a little more authority than is possessed by England's Constitutional monarch, but that he has not nearly so much power as belongs to

the President of the United States, "who can be more nearly an autocrat than seems credible under a Republican system." The editor points out that Ministers in France are responsible to Parliament and not to the President, whereas in the United States the President is quite independent of Congress and members of the Executive are responsible to him and not to Congress. The American President, in fact, lays down the line of policy. *Le Figaro*, of Paris, implies that M. Millerand desires to originate policy, and it approves of this intention. Contemplating the constitutional difficulties inherent

in the Presidencies of France and America, the *Spectator* thinks that England should be devoutly thankful for her own simple and satisfactory system. The British Sovereign acts invariably upon the advice of his Ministers. Moreover, England is saved the expenditure at regular intervals of an enormous amount of money and nervous energy on Presidential elections.

The *Spectator* concludes that it should be quite possible to let the President be more of a representative of the whole French people without constitutional retrogression. He should be the nation's spokesman.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION COMPARED WITH THE RUSSIAN

THE strong points of resemblance between the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian revolt of 1917 have struck many readers and they are the more interesting in that the fundamental conditions in the respective countries, though similar to a certain degree, were widely divergent in many important respects. The leading facts have been well stated by F. de Chaurand in *Rivista d'Italia*. In this connection we may note the report that the unfortunate Nicholas II is said to have studied the history of the French Revolution with melancholy forebodings in the latter years of his reign.

The phases traversed by the revolutions of 1789 and 1917 bear a characteristic likeness to each other. The former began with the Constituent Assembly, the latter with the Duma; each of these bodies refused to dissolve at the sovereign's command, and the activity of the Girondists was reproduced in that of the "Cadets." Administrative disorganization and hunger led in France, as well as in Russia, to the abolition of the monarchy, which had already been undermined by the errors of its representatives. In France the Constituent Assembly gave place to the Legislative Assembly and this in turn to the Convention, from which sprang the Committee of Public Safety and the dictatorship of Robespierre. Then followed the Directory, the *coup-d'état* of Bonaparte, and his election as First Consul of France.

In Russia the provisional government constituted by the Duma passed into a coalition ministry, and finally assumed a socialistic

form which was given a dictatorial character by Kerensky. Soon the incapacity of the Duma to control the masses of the people became manifest, while Kerensky strove to continue the war in concert with the other Allies and to summon a constituent assembly. At this point Lenin accused him of betraying the proletariat in the interest of the bourgeoisie, and advised him to cast aside the worn-out form of social democracy and to adopt the communistic form. But the favorable moment had already passed, and profiting by the indecision of the different parties, the Bolsheviks overthrew Kerensky, and Lenin, like a new Robespierre, installed himself as dictator.

The Jacobins and Sans Culottes of the French Revolution are represented by the Bolsheviks of to-day. The former received their orders from the clubs, the latter are dominated by the Soviets, and in both cases the deposed sovereign is put to death. Alongside the attempted restoration of the French monarchy by Dumouriez, we have had in Russia the restoration plotted by Kornilov. In France, as in Russia, from different causes, the army pursued a similar course. It had lost its vitality, and in the first stages of the respective revolutions military anarchy reigned supreme. The necessity for external defense and for internal security led to the creation of new armies, in which the dominant class aimed at absolute control. Thus in France arose the National Guard, formed of the Third Estate to the exclusion of the aristocracy; as a counterpart we have in Russia the Red

Army, made up of the proletariat to the exclusion of nobles and bourgeoisie. In each instance the task should have been to protect individuals and property against the excesses of the armies of the old régime, but on the contrary the new armies soon imitated their forerunners and even surpassed them in violence.

Pursuing the parallel, the writer notes that the European coalition and the Vendean insurrection in 1793 forced the French Government to take urgent measures for national defense. In a like way, after signing the peace of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, the Bolshevik government was hard pressed by the "white" armies. The work done by Carnot in Republican France was taken up by Trotsky in modern Russia. Both of them restored discipline in the armies and "organized victory."

It is the aim of every triumphant revolution to propagate its doctrines throughout the world. Revolutionary France warmly favored a widespread propaganda by force

of arms, and after the power had passed into Napoleon's hands, French armies overran Europe for fifteen years, bearing with them the ideas of liberty and equality. This same spirit animates the Russian revolutionists. The Petrograd Soviet in its appeal of May 1, 1917, proclaimed the movement to be the first stage in the progress of the international army of labor, marking the beginning of the international revolution which was to put an end to war and bring peace to humanity.

In both revolutions we find the rivalry of two leading parties. The most progressive, looking upon man from an optimistic standpoint, believed that he needed no longer the support of economic, political or social institutions in order to live, labor and prosper. The less radical party, on the other hand, believed that man's natural imperfection rendered it impossible for him to dispense with those political, religious, intellectual and social institutions which the long experience of society had created.

## THE PLACE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN HUMAN CULTURE

THE well-known and highly esteemed *Revue des Deux Mondes*, of Paris, has devoted much space for several months to the prospects of the French language. In the issue for September 15, M. Paul Hazard writes of the increased demand in other countries for opportunities to learn the French language and to study the literature and civilization of France. This demand, he says, arose immediately after the signing of the Armistice. Recalling the fact that members of some of the delegations to the Peace Conference at Paris were entrusted with "intellectual negotiations," in addition to those of a diplomatic nature, this writer enumerates various agencies that have been put in operation in different countries to promote the French type of culture:

A French lyceum has been opened in Madrid, another at Rome under the name of Chateaubriand, two others will be opened in London for boys and girls, all in buildings and with professors worthy of us. It is contemplated—let us hope this project will be carried out—to create a French lyceum in Brussels, where the German College will not again open its doors. The sons of Frenchmen established at Mayence pursue their studies in a French lyceum. A French Athénée teaches our language at Tokio and a Lyons mission which has just returned from

Japan and has ascertained the immensity of the task that is to be done in that country, projects the founding of a French House besides the Athénée. While the Lisbon College is extending its activities, the Saint Bovid French School, founded by the Upsal Archbishop, is prospering. Thanks to the high esteem in which we are held at Rio de Janeiro, we shall transform our lyceum there by widening its scope and enlarging the buildings. We might perhaps find another college at São Paulo and still another perhaps at Porto Alegre. Bachelor's degree courses are contemplated for Constantinople as well as for Brazil.

Everywhere we are invited as welcome guests. The chair of French language and literature at Dublin, as well as the "Marshal Foch" chair at Oxford, were both created during the war. A French professor conducts his classes at the University of Prague with several assistants and, besides them, Czechoslovakia has desired lecturers for its colleges and private teachers for its families. A sort of French law school is open at Teheran and we are in negotiations with the Persian Government for the sending of several other professors, including one of philosophy and one of French. In Cairo, the English law school—not to speak of our French School—has been obliged to request the services of a French professor.

The great rôle filled by the universities in the United States is well known. In that country of intense commercial and industrial activity, where so many diverse elements are more juxtaposed than melted, the universities represent not only

high scientific culture, but also intellectual and moral unity in formation. They are like living persons especially entrusted with the founding of a tradition; each has its own distinguishing characteristics, and all concur in the elaboration of a national consciousness. They also, one after the other, want to establish chairs of French civilization. Several years before the war relations had already been started by short trips which were only visits but which were soon followed by annual missions and now by permanent foundations. The good-will of the Americans and the effort of our great university men, such as Joseph Bédier and Gustave Lanson, have succeeded in establishing these noble unions of thought and very shortly one of the greatest and most illustrious colleges, the Yale University, will open its doors to a French professor.

Sometimes, foreign countries want to make exchanges with us; so much the better, since we are enriching ourselves at the same time we are giving and since exchanges allow us to remain more faithful to our spirit which desires that we serve only as intermediaries and do not try to impose ourselves anywhere. Let us, therefore, increase these exchanges as much as possible in the interest of all. An agreement has been made with England by which scholastic establishments on both sides of the Channel have become allied; groups of pupils thus go from Condorcet College to the Merchant Taylor's School, from the Tours College to the Whitgift Grammar School, from the girls' college at Poitiers to the Municipal School of Ipswich; and reciprocally.

Italy, which has so very favorably welcomed our institutes at Florence, Milan, and Naples, is about to receive a French professor at the University of Rome, while she will send one of her own professors to the Collège de France; during the war an agreement was made which called for the exchanging of Italian and French professors of high schools. The Franco-Swiss inter-university conference held at Geneva in September and October, 1919, has also arranged for the exchanging of students. This is a result which should be very satisfactory to us when we remember the powerful grasp of Germany on Swiss education, which went so far that the Swiss professors, feeling themselves menaced, had to form a league in order to defend themselves against the constantly increasing invasion.

Thanks to the activities of our Spanish friends, university agreements were made and confirmed with Spain, in Paris in 1919, and at the French Institute, in Madrid in 1920.

The writer rejoices in the fact that no country is more favorable to these exchanges than the United States, which puts at the disposition of French students "an almost unbelievable number of scholarships." The Association of Colleges has brought to America this year no less than 111 beneficiaries. To these should be added the scholarships offered by the Carnegie Foundation, and still others offered by individual universities. On the other hand, American students attend the French Universities,

Saint-Germain-en-Laye College, and the French girls' colleges.

As another instance of reciprocity, M. Hazard mentions the Institute of Slavic Learning which has recently been established in Paris.

Sometimes, also, it is a case of absolute gift without return. Serbia is calling us. Rumania not only desires that the French language remain privileged in her country, as it is already, but she wants to make it the language of her culture. She believes that Latin, which she has taken as a basis of her instruction for the last thirty years, has fallen short of her expectations and that she will gain by replacing it by French. This is a most important fact in the history of our influence. Voluntarily, deliberately, after reflection and experience, French is chosen in this case as the instrument of the intellectual formation of a whole people, as the vehicle of modern civilization. Rumania from now on wants French professors for its capital and its chief cities, for its universities, its colleges, its "gymnasiums," its high, technical and primary schools. Already thirty professors officially chosen have gone in answer to the call. As affecting also in its way is the appeal of Estonia, which wants to send us pupils and is asking us for teachers and even for kindergarten women teachers, "considering the interest which there is," says Estonia, "not to let future pupils fall again under the moral influence of Germany. . . ."

But of all the effects caused or achieved by the war in this regard, one of the most curious is the current which is drawing China toward us. The young Chinamen who wanted to learn French in France now number 800 and they will soon number thousands. With an ardor that comes from faith, in spite of all the obstacles of hard times and the long voyage, they come to us. There were none in our French universities before 1914; for their foreign diplomas they went to the Japanese, the Americans, and the English, and the English language was, almost alone, the language which permitted them to communicate with the rest of the world.

Now in France, two educational centers have been opened for them, one in Lyons and the other in Paris; two Franco-Chinese universities where they can both continue their national literary education (an essential condition from their point of view) and learn our language. The French mission will soon leave for China; may it soon organize the former German school of Shanghai which has been given to us jointly with the Chinese and which we have not succeeded as yet in opening. May it favor, with all the forces of the France it represents, this spontaneous movement which is drawing the Orient toward us!

As to the French language itself:

It is plainly to be seen that, if the French language has not been considered the only diplomatic language adequate for the wording of the treaty which ended the great war, if it is not certain to be the only language to be heard in the future halls of the League of Nations, it possesses at least a force superior to all official wills: the rebirth of affection it enjoys.

## THE BRITISH "COUNCIL OF ACTION"

LAST month allusion was made in this department to the personnel and aims of the newly formed Council of Action, as representative of British Trade Unionism. The creation of this body has raised issues which are now being discussed with great seriousness in the British press.

The London *Review of Reviews* summarizes the main points of this discussion in the following questions: How far does the existence of the Council, side by side with the Government, threaten the stability of the Constitution? Has it come to stay as a permanent part of the Constitution, to speak and act on behalf of clearly defined interests which claim a direct representation? Is it possible that such a development, initiated suddenly and without warning by forces that are not even identifiable, can be assimilated into a constitution which is based on the principle that all authority must ultimately be derived from the expressed consent of the whole people, or is it inevitable that the assumption of such authority as is claimed by the Council of Action must result in a direct conflict between Parliament and the trade unions? In the October number of the *Review of Reviews* leading representatives of the Labor, Liberal, and Coalition parties reply to these questions, each from his own point of view.

Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, M. P., representing the Labor Party, who is one of that organization's four representatives on the Council of Action, indicates certain lines in which he believes that the Council will be useful. He believes that the community requires a Council of Action as a moderator and adjuster, while the unions require it as a coördinating general staff. He lays stress on the unanimity among the delegates which created the Council of Action and on the fact that the Council, having been set in operation, can do nothing without unanimity on the part of its own members.

Mr. John Wallace, M. P., Independent Liberal, expresses his profound regret that the Council of Action was organized.

I regard it (1) as a discreditable political maneuver inspired by men whom one has hitherto regarded as responsible labor leaders and (2) an attempt to substitute what is virtually Soviet rule in this country for parliamentary government. The issue is not war with Russia but whether Parliament elected by the free will of the people is to remain a bulwark against the tyranny of a minority.



MR. ROBERT SMILLIE, REPRESENTING THE BRITISH COAL MINERS, LEAVING A CONFERENCE HELD LAST MONTH WITH MR. LLOYD GEORGE

(Mr. Smillie has conducted the negotiations on behalf of more than 800,000 miners)

Mr. Wallace advises the protagonists of the direct action to read history, in order that they may realize how alien it is to the political genius of England and how fatal it may prove to their own political aspirations.

Captain Walter Elliott, M. P., representing the Coalition Unionists, goes so far as to admit that the engineers' unions have "by the very arithmetic of the position," a voting power of producers quite disproportionate to their power as consumers. He concludes that unless recognition of the Council is granted, it will be necessary for leaders of public opinion in Great Britain "to learn the language of the steam men, so that in emergency we, too, can control them, recognizing that things are what they are and the consequences will be what they will be and that till we alter the underlying realities, the superficial appearances will in the long run correspond with them."

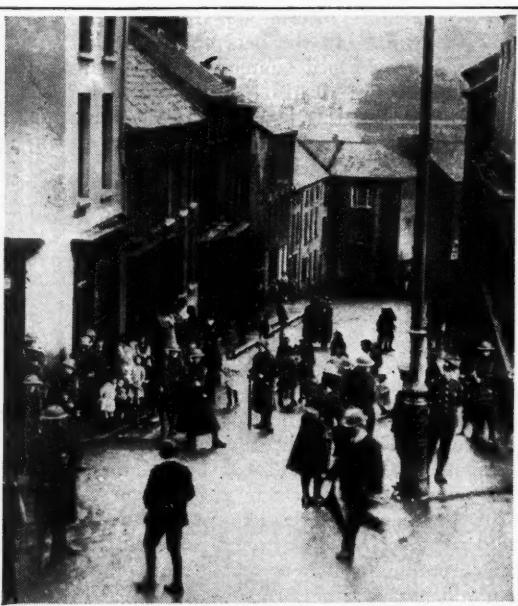
## SINN FEIN "COURTS" AND "POLICE"

**I**N the *Contemporary Review* (London) for September, Lord Monteagle, Irish Peer and author of the bill to establish a parliament with Dominion status in Ireland, undertakes to tell what is really happening in that sadly misgoverned island. After describing, as one of the outstanding facts of the situation, the breakdown of the police, he proceeds to speak of the collapse of the judicial system and of the extension of the powers of the law courts, which he says is admitted by the government itself:

While the police system has been thus breaking down, and the judicial system becoming paralyzed, Sinn Fein has been steadily establishing over three-quarters of Ireland first Courts of Arbitration, but subsequently civil and criminal courts claiming authority from a government that is *de facto*, if not *de jure*—imposing punishment and exacting penalties, as well as deciding rights. Secondly, Sinn Fein set up its own police, which directed its efforts in the first place to the prevention or discovery of thefts, burglaries, and such-like hooligan crime, and afterward to carrying out the decrees of Sinn Fein courts.

Lord Monteagle goes on to pay an ungrudging tribute to the remarkable efficiency of these Sinn Fein "courts" and "police."

Landlords, graziers, shopkeepers, and farmers have freely resorted to these "courts" and acknowledged the substantial fairness of their decisions, and been thankful for the execution of their decrees by the Sinn Fein "police." Perhaps the most surprising evidence of both their powers and their justice has been in regard to the renewed trouble over the cattle ranches in contested districts. It is an open secret that the Sinn Fein leaders were themselves alarmed at this development which seriously endangered social order and had completely baffled the government departments and the police. But so promptly, firmly, and impartially did they deal with it—insisting in many cases on sale (often partial, not total) of ranches to "congests" or landless men, but at fair prices and preferably through cooperative societies financed by a newly-formed National Land Bank, while dismissing claims altogether in not a few cases, especially those backed by cattle-driving—that any such conflagration has been averted if the combustible material has not been completely removed. If terrorist influences were at work they were severely dealt with, and cattle drivers not only had their claims dismissed, but were even made to repair



MILITARY GUARDING A STREET IN DERRY, IRELAND, AFTER A RAID BY TROOPS AND POLICE IN SEARCH OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS

fences they had damaged. Of course, these proceedings are illegal. They are even recorded sometimes in the official list of "outrages" attributed to Sinn Fein.

Matters have gone too far in Ireland for technicalities, Lord Monteagle asserts. Men prefer justice even without law to law which cannot see justice done. He records the astonishment of the Southern Unionist party, to which he himself belonged, at the discovery that Sinn Fein, although it originated in the towns, has no quarrel with them as landlords, but genuinely desires to keep them in the country.

Regarding the difficulty of "Ulster," Lord Monteagle derives new hopes from the fact that "Sinn Fein has a better grasp of realities than the old Nationalist party had, and is prepared to make very large concessions to 'politics' for the sake of unity."

Sinn Fein will not negotiate, as we all know, with the British Government except on a republican basis; but Sinn Fein can well afford to negotiate freely with their "Ulster" fellow countrymen without giving or exacting any pledges except of good faith.

# FRANCE, POLAND AND THE REDS

WHAT are the fundamental aims of French policy in Eastern Europe? In the *Revue Mondiale* for September 15th the editor, Jean Finot, declares that France is just beginning to play the real rôle which is the logical outcome of her superhuman sacrifices for victory in the Great War. As to current charges of imperialism that are from time to time brought against France by her enemies, M. Finot's reply is that the nation has too many ruins to repair and too many dead to lament to wish for a new war, which would be certain to follow like a shadow any attempt at annexation of territory. He says:

France wants universal peace. Having understood the error she had made by following, under the guidance of Clemenceau, the policy of incomprehension and paradoxes of Wilson and Lloyd George, she is trying to attain for her own account the rôle of peace intermediary.

Thus she has just helped Mr. Take Jonescu who, let us say, is one of the greatest statesmen of to-day, to reestablish normal relations between Rumania and Hungary. Her intervention in Poland will certainly entitle her to praise in the history of to-morrow.

We know the saying according to which every Pole has two fatherlands: his own and France. Discouraged and disillusioned by the attitude of the Allies towards her, Poland was already showing tendencies to isolate herself from the rest of the world, but France has just attracted

her, through gratitude, into the great and real League of Nations. And through this will come the salvation of both the East and the West.

Chivalrous Poland is now able to appreciate the tactfulness and generosity which France felt and is feeling towards her—a feeling which is so well represented by the French Military Mission.

At the time of my visit to Poland several months ago, I was able to witness personally the well-merited popularity enjoyed there by General Henrys, the head of our military mission.

Alone of all the Allied generals delegated to the country, he has known how to increase the affection for his country and to carry out to a happy conclusion the task which had been entrusted to him. One cannot overestimate either the tact with which he, and several weeks ago General Weygand, have avoided anything which might have hurt the feelings of the Poles at the time of the recent victories over the Bolsheviks. While the enemies of Poland attributed exclusively all the credit to the French officers, the two generals themselves disclaimed it.

In an interview given to French journalists and later in an admirable speech to the Polish people, General Weygand solemnly stated that "the victory was a Polish one and that France is rich enough in military glory not to claim that of friendly Poland."

Just imagine the Germans or certain other countries in the place of France! How many unjust *froissements* Poland, which is to-day one of the great martyrs of humanity, would have had to endure!

The wasteful and irrational methods followed in the efforts to withstand the Bolshevik advance are severely criticised by M. Finot:

It was a kind of madness to attack the Soviet through Siberia or the far-away Southern provinces instead of advancing right through Germany, with or without the consent of the Germans, in order to save the Russian nation which would then have risen as one man to save itself.

What can also be said of the wastage of the resources placed at the disposal of dubious individuals like Kolchak or Denikine, whose generals were selling to the Bolsheviks the war material sent by the Allies, while their chiefs, clumsy reactionary agents, were everywhere threatening the peasants, taking away their land, organizing pogroms and throwing the frightened people into the arms of Bolshevism.

On the other hand, the continuation of imperialist annexations carried out by several powers, gives to the Bolsheviks so many more auxiliaries among all the despoiled nations. It was not with the intention of giving them independence that a large number of provinces were taken away from the Turk. What is even worse, the glorious rôle of stigmatizing these imperialist doings is left everywhere to the extremist and Bolshevik elements of all countries.

What would be the situation of the world if a new war should become imminent?



GERMAN FRITZ: "While she is so insistent upon the strict adherence to the peace treaty I may find a chance to inject this serum into her supplied by the firm of Lenin, Trotsky & Co."

From Mucha (Warsaw)

Let us remember in this regard that the circulation of paper money in the whole world has risen from seven billion dollars at the beginning of the war to forty billion dollars at the time of the armistice and has reached to-day fifty-six billion.

In this figure is not included the imposing number of billions manufactured by the Soviet without the slightest control either at home or abroad.

Before 1914, the fiduciary circulation was guaranteed by 70 per cent. gold. This guaranty is less than 12 per cent. to-day.

Worse even, the world's budget has increased 500 per cent. since 1914, and the annual interest of national debts has risen from 1750 million dollars to nine billion dollars.

More than ever should we remember the ironical words of Melchior de Vogue in "Les Morts qui Parlent" ("The Dead Who Speak"):

"It seems that Patriotism requires that the people be lulled by all kinds of illusions until the time when it finds itself in the bottom of the abyss."

## BOLSHEVIK SUBSIDIES TO REVOLUTION OUTSIDE OF RUSSIA

THE Third International, of Moscow, declares the *Round Table* (September), has become a rallying point for all the subversive elements in every country, and gives them just the kind of stimulus that they need, for the first plank in its platform is the destruction of "Capital," and the second is the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." But its principal opportunity for causing mischief outside of Russia lies in the exportation of money to subsidize revolution in various countries.

Most of the subversive bodies in England are financially living from hand to mouth; before the international movement really set in they had to trust entirely to local subscribers for their funds, and until the Russian Commissars turned foreign revolutionary propaganda into a fine art there was no other hand to which they could look to feed them. Now hungry eyes are fixed upon Moscow. One after another all our revolution-mongers slip off, either as stowaways or labor delegates, in the hope that a smooth tongue may prevail upon Lenin's almoner; and as long as the Bolshevik oligarchy in Moscow continues to believe that it may achieve world-revolution, this movement will continue, unless Bolshevik funds begin to run dry.

There are signs, the writer declares, that the fountain of gold for propaganda, which used to spout so copiously in Russia, is running dry.

The Communists are becoming a little wiser. The large sums they gave to the Communists in Germany resulted in breaking up such organization as there was, because some of the comrades retired from the party with their plunder, and others left it because they did not get what they thought was their proper share. Moreover, precious stones, of which there still seems to be a large reserve, are reported to be now unsalable at a fair value, and gold is not very easily transported. One of the difficulties recently encountered by the Russian Trading Delegation in London was the number of Communist well-wishers who called to beg from it. There are one or

two British extremists who are in Moscow now on the same errand, and, with the pressing need of paying for supplies on a vast scale, the Soviet government intends for the future to get value for its money. It may finance one or two extreme newspapers who write in support of the Third International, but it will not furnish negligible little Communist organizations with unlimited money, though it regards benevolently the parties who are engaged in warfare against the capitalist states.

Thus Mustapha Kemal signs himself "Pan-Islamist and Communist" as if the oil and water of East and West would ever mix; thus the son of James Connolly as secret envoy for Sinn Fein is smuggled to Moscow; thus Indian and Egyptian revolutionists are busy taking lessons in propaganda from Jewish Communists; thus the Ethiopian movement in South Africa secretly draws its inspiration from the Black States in America.



A HARD JOB

LENIN: "Do you think that we shall manage to break in?"

TROTSKY: "Yes, but we must be quick. Otherwise they will go bankrupt and we shall get nothing for our pains!"

From *Wiener Caricaturen* (Vienna)

## GERMANY AND THE POLES

**I**N the *résumé* of German press utterances compiled for the London *Review of Reviews* the Russo-Polish war has an important place.

Naturally, since the possible consequences for Germany, of either a Russian defeat or a Russian victory, were serious in themselves, the mere state of war was enough to involve the country in all kinds of difficulties, both at home and abroad. As regards the first, there was the danger that there might exist an understanding between the Russian Bolsheviks and the German Extreme Left, by which the advance of the former was to coincide with a determined effort by the latter. Such an understanding was, in fact, alleged, apparently with a certain amount of evidence to back the statement up, but practically there was no result, beyond a few demonstrations of sympathy with Russia and in favor of the maintenance of German neutrality—a neutrality which the German Government was, in any case, only too anxious to assert.

In her foreign relations Germany was likely to become embarrassed by her neutrality, especially if it were to be interpreted as giving the right to refuse the transport of goods across her country to Poland. In practice this point was not to lead to any grave difficulty—in Germany proper, that is, for Danzig must be treated separately—and the greatest misgiving arose in Germany, not over the actual question of permitting transport of material to Poland, but over the theoretical question of an understanding between Germany and the Moscow government. It was this and the suggestion that, should the truth of the report be proved, France would move forward troops into the Ruhr, that perturbed the German press far more than any other subject and it may well be understood how assiduously German political writers backed up their government's official announcement that there was no such understanding as certain papers of the Entente alleged. This was the comment of *Die Hilfe*:

The German-Russian Treaty, which the *Times* has conjured up, is said to be as follows: "Russia will be permitted, without Germany's intervention, to possess herself of all arms, munitions, rolling-stock, and food supplies belonging to Poland. After the conquest of Poland, Russia will be permitted to send into Poland a certain number of Red Commissaries, to control Poland's

Nov.—7



THE POLISH SITUATION

BOLSHEVIK: "Now, Fritz, you cut in and have a go at the Poles."

GERMAN: "No need! Leave them to themselves and they'll save me the trouble."

From Mucha (Warsaw)

exports. Russia will evacuate Poland entirely in Germany's favor, as a guarantee for future credits to herself, and for the exchange of German manufactured goods." The source and the aim of this absurd invention are plain, the expression so ridiculously clumsy, that it is impossible to conceive the kind of mind to which such a thing could appeal. All such imaginary stuff, however, only proves how correct is the policy of Herr Simons, who avoids everything likely to place Germany in an ambiguous light.

The soul of truth in the story of the "agreement" was, however, quite evident. Racial hatred between the Poles and the Germans is so intense that many Germans contemplated with pleasure the prospect of a complete Polish defeat; and it seems to have been established that, in extreme nationalist circles, there were actual hopes expressed that a great Russian victory would be the prelude to a German-Russian agreement, with the object of tearing up the Treaty of Versailles.

Certain thinkers on the subject, also nationalist in their inclinations, appeared to lay emphasis on the dangers of such a combination, at least so long as the Bolsheviks were at the helm. They would advocate an Eastern policy based on the principle of the division of Russia into her component national parts. Chief among the advocates of this plan stands the well-known political

writer and publicist, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, who had an article on the question in *Deutsche Politik* for August 13th. In this he recalled that during the war he always considered the project of a separate peace between Germany and Russia the most dangerous of illusions. He resigned his post in the German Propaganda and Press Department because he felt unable to support the demand for Russian press-cuttings showing the longing for separate peace, and he considers that the Russian Revolution completely vindicated his reading of the situation. For positive policy he would follow Bismarck, whose aim it was to avoid war with Russia if possible, but should it come, or so much as appear on the horizon, see to it that the Russian border were pushed back to the Dnieper—which, logically carried out, means the weakening of Russia by the encouragement of national self-consciousness in her border states:

The taking away of West Russian territory as far as the Dnieper does not mean only the restoration of Poland, but also the restoration of the Ukraine. . . . An independent Ukraine . . . is the great aim, the dissolution of Russia and the restoration of Eastern Europe. This it is that would have rescued Germany from the fatal encirclement. It is impossible to break up either England or France, because they are compact national states. But Russia could have been broken up, because it was a state composed of separate nationalities (*Nationalitätenstaat*).

This is, of course, the policy that was attempted—in spite of Rohrbach's contemptuous allusions to German politicians' opinions on the point—by Austria before the war and by Germany during it.

Danzig, as has been indicated, occupied a special place in German public opinion during the month. The refusal of the German workers in that port to allow the unloading of Polish munitions, thus infringing one of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, was greeted in the German press with a pleasure that could not be disguised. And in several quarters the hope was expressed—in guarded language or the reverse, according to the political color of the paper—that one result of the Russian victory might be the handing back of the "corridor" to Germany.

But as the Russians got into the corridor and the tide of the Red invasion came nearer, there was more misgiving and the final rebuff to German hopes was supplied first by the Polish successes and then by the peremptory way in which the Entente Powers reasserted the rights of Poland to the use of the port of Danzig. The extinction of German hopes from a Russian success was complete, and all the talk of the injustice of the "corridor" arrangement and the iniquities of the Poles in East Prussia collapsed, like very insubstantial propaganda.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

A PROPOS of the divergent policies recently maintained by France and England regarding Russia and Poland, which are discussed by Mr. Simonds in this month's article, there are several suggestive paragraphs in the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) for September 13th, from the pen of the editor, Jean Finot.

Admitting at the outset that blunders have been made on both sides which threatened to compromise the friendship of the two great nations, M. Finot declares that not England alone but the French Government that preceded M. Millerand's shared in responsibility for the misfortunes of Poland. Writing while M. Millerand was still Premier, and just before his accession to the Presidency of France, M. Finot says:

M. Millerand has proved once more how great an influence on the fate of a country, and even

of the world, a courageous initiative and individual energy can have. If he had, like Clemenceau, blindly followed the tactics of Lloyd George with regard to Poland, Bolshevism would perhaps have conquered that country by now and reached a bellicose understanding with pan-Germanist, Socialist and Spartacist Germany which all three, dream only of trouble, destruction of the Treaty of Versailles and a bloody war, first against France and then against the Occident.

What would have resulted from that would have plunged our planet in a catastrophe beside which the war of 1914 would have seemed mere child's play.

The yellow world, as well as the Mohammedans of all the countries, the negroes in the United States and Africa, so deeply agitated by the Bolshevik tempest, would have risen everywhere to contribute to the world's disaster.

It is often overlooked that Moscow has created special committees to develop its propaganda in the whole of the Orient. We have already at present young Communists Associations in Persia, as well as in Turkestan, Afghanistan, India, and even among the Tartars and the Kirghiz who

have not even reached the first phase of capitalism.

M. Millerand has thus contributed to save the world, including England herself, from the incalculable dangers suspended over our heads. The English Premier, after having flirted with Moscow and having contributed to bolshevize his own country, has likewise succeeded in promising for a time Franco-English friendship.

Let us hope that the reawakening of French energy and foresight, which are triumphing all along the line, will also help to make Mr. Lloyd George abandon his policy, which is as illogical as constantly changing. For this very reason, after suffering momentary decline, the *entente cordiale*, which constitutes the supreme basis of future peace, and the League of Nations, will soon regain the cohesion it had during the war. Italy will not fail, in her turn, to join herself to France and England, which, backed by the United States, will at last reach a perfect agreement of views as regards the policy to be followed in the East.

Plain common sense will then show to the powerful Allies of yesterday the uselessness of another war. Peace with Bolshevism, naturally on terms which would prevent it from conducting its propaganda abroad, will result in its prompt and final downfall.

The government of Lenin and Trotzky maintains itself only because of external war which allows it to exercise boundless despotism under pretext of defending Russia against its foreign enemies.

Obliged to renounce military tyranny and murders cloaked by the necessity of assuring public safety, it will disappear from the surface of the earth, giving place to Czarists who follow it and surround it while waiting for an opportunity to strangle it, or to a real Russian democracy which is so impatiently waiting for its deliverance.

### An English View

Writing in the London *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Sisley Huddleston says of the Anglo-French Entente:

France and England could not well be in more complete discord whatever the diplomats and the politicians may pretend. The two countries have taken different routes.

How little control France and England have is apparent by a casual glance at the morning newspaper. Where is there not war or the prospect of war? And this is the result of nearly two years of peace-making! Had there been any fundamental agreement it is impossible that more progress should not have been made towards tranquillity.

And then think of the chances of this winter! What a terrible outlook it is! High prices, strikes, unemployment, empty grates and closed factories, fighting, insurrection, revolution, starvation, pestilence—death has still a great harvest to reap! If the Entente had played the rôle which was manifestly open to it to play, if France and Britain had not sought to beat each other but had sought the good of humanity, what a different tale there would have been to tell! The Entente had a wonderful opportunity. It was the master of the world, on condition that it knew what it

wanted and was single-eyed and single-minded. But jealousies, rivalries, suspicions, egotisms, disappointments, divided the two countries, and now it may be too late to heal the breach. The Entente is dead, but if I cry "Vive the Entente!" it is because I believe that the one hope for Europe is that even now France and England, in face of danger, economic, military, financial, will see that they must unite on a set of sound political principles and use the great powers which they may still possess to save the world from plunging further into chaos.

There is talk in the entourage of Mr. Lloyd George of withdrawing entirely from European affairs. I can quite understand the despair that dictates that desperate policy. Unhappily we cannot withdraw from Europe and escape the universal destruction. That is no remedy. Before you can get back to the beginnings of financial sanity you have to abandon all thought of politics based on militarism and hate.

Many months ago I wrote what Sir Thomas Barclay now says—that France might well become more truly friendly if her own finances were improved. She looked to Germany, she looked to England for assistance—forced or voluntary. She was disappointed. Since then there has been a general smash and a pursuance of diverse paths. One critic says that first France must be helped financially; another critic says that first France must adopt another policy. But finances react upon policy just as much as policy reacts upon finances. All eyes must now be turned on Brussels. If there the true position is realized, and sound international methods adopted, and if in addition France and England in particular can renew their old generous relations, then we shall take a tremendous stride towards the restoration of Europe. The Entente is dead; Vive the Entente!



LOVERS' QUARRELS

JOHN BULL (to France): "Wonderful how a little storm in a teapot brings out the flavour!"  
From *Punch* (London)

## ONTARIO'S FARMER GOVERNMENT



HON. ERNEST C. DRURY, PREMIER OF ONTARIO

SOME time ago this magazine had occasion to refer to the Ontario election of 1919, through which the United Farmers secured a plurality of members in the legislature. At the time of the election this successful party was without a leader, but within a few days Mr. Ernest C. Drury was unanimously chosen at a legislative caucus to fill that position. To obtain the necessary working majority for a government a coalition was formed with the Labor Party, and so Ontario has had a Farmer-Labor administration.

The new government entered on its first session on March 9, 1920, and completed it on May 28. The work of the session is described in the *National Municipal Review* (New York) by Mr. J. Othmar Robinson, of the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada. The results of this session, as set forth by Mr. Robinson, make it clear that nothing resembling social revolution is contained in the program of the United Farmers. Mr. Robinson thinks that in view of the fact that the reins of government were in the hands of men who had no previous parliamentary experience, the administration was surprisingly successful. The outstanding feature, in his opinion, was the frank and open attitude adopted by the government and the at-

tempts made to get way from political dictating or sparring for position.

Premier Drury proved to be a first-class parliamentary leader.

That a high conception of the responsibilities of government was entertained by Mr. Drury and his cabinet was proven by their early determination to refrain from class legislation. The Farmers' party made tentative plans to broaden its scope of activity and to get away from any fear of having the movement considered as sectional or devoted to a one-class interest. Mr. Drury is reported in the *Toronto Globe* on October 30, 1919, to have made the following statement: "May we not hope that before long this movement, which has had its birth in one particular class, may expand and broaden till it shall become not merely a Farmers' party, but in a very real sense a people's party."

Although the government's majority in the house is very slim, many crises were met successfully, the most notable of which was the fight on the civil servants' superannuation bill. The central organization of the U. F. O. opposed the measure strenuously, as being class legislation, although the bill was introduced by the Farmers' government. They wrote a circular letter to all the local clubs suggesting that they appeal to their representatives in the house against the bill. Only seven United Farmer members, however, voted against the measure and many voted in defiance of clubs in their ridings. At the time of the division the government had been assured of support from the opposition. The bill would, therefore, have carried and the government would have been saved even if practically every Farmer member had bolted.

Mr. Robinson points out that the Labor wing of the coalition was successful in obtaining legislation of much greater volume than that dealing with the farming industry, although the Labor members in the House were only eleven as against the forty-five farmers. A mothers' pension law and amendments to the workingmen's compensation act were among the principal measures sponsored and introduced by the Labor members.

Outside of an act to provide loans up to \$3000 for co-operative societies for the storage and cleaning of seed grain and potatoes and legislation setting forth a comprehensive program of good roads, very few bills were passed of direct interest to the farmers.

It is generally conceded that the responsibilities of governing the province have had a stabilizing influence on the farmers' organization. Mr. Robinson thinks it probable that the radicalism that characterizes class movements will disappear with the increase of responsibilities.

## MRS. ASQUITH'S REVELATIONS

THE "Intimate Diary" of Margot Asquith, wife of the former British Premier, to which reference is made in the course of Mr. Wilson's article on "Lloyd George and His Problems" in this number of the *REVIEWS*, has been appearing in serial form in the *Metropolitan* (New York). The October installment contains several candid paragraphs about the late Lord Kitchener, who went down on an English battleship during the war. Mrs. Asquith says of him:

A great deal of nonsense has been talked about Lord Kitchener. He was a lovable, clumsy fellow with a touch of genius, and adored not only by soldiers and civilians, but recognized and hailed by everyone.

He was a great gentleman in his own way and the most popular figure in a crowd that was ever seen. They loved what they called his brave, honest face, his inexorable will, and way of damning the consequences! Lord Milner—who worked with him during the Boer war—was looked upon as a man of less courage, scruple, and candor; and of an altogether subtler, more foreign type. This popular illusion was a constant source of amusement to me! Kitchener's commanding height and personal prestige gave him natural advantages over Milner, but his frank desert eye was misleading, and he was less like what the public thought him than it is possible to imagine. I have come to the conclusion that just as there is a difference between iron that is wrought and iron that is cast, so Kitchener was cast by the world's judgment. He was a great diplomatist. I do not at all know if the popular idea of mild, persistent lying which is connected with high diplomacy is correct, but Kitchener's methods were oriental. His life had been largely spent among the black and tans, who when they were not overpowered were invariably outwitted by him. He had never lived with his superiors, and seldom with his equals.

I was one of the few people who regretted Henry making him his Minister of War in 1914. I had known him since I was a girl, and spent a winter with him in Cairo and thoroughly understood both his powers, his charm, and his limitations. There were some things he could never appreciate, and his life in India had considerably thickened him. He never understood the Irish temperament; their desire to enlist together from the same villages in the same regiments and, above all, their ardent and legitimate desire to take their priests with them he treated with contempt; had he not done this I think Ireland would have remained in the war till the end. The Irish are born fighters, and the war gave England a great opportunity, but they were thoroughly mishandled, and though I besought him on my knees one afternoon when he was having tea with me, to let them take their priests to the front, he made difficulties, and the recruiting failed. I had often cried at our invariable and insane tactics with the Irish, and everyone hoped for better things

with a new ruler. I had a row with Lord Kitchener about the English as well as the Irish soldiers.

A transcript from Mrs. Asquith's diary speaks further of the circumstances attending Lord Kitchener's appointment as War Minister:

"On the morning of August the 3rd, 1914, I was looking out of my bedroom window into the Downing Street garden, watching my little man flying paper aeroplanes, preparatory to joining him, when Henry came into my room:

"I have been sounding Kitchener about taking the War Office," he said; "I can't go on with this heavy work."

"Thanks to bungles in the Curragh—Henry had taken the War Office over at a critical moment before he had time to tell any of the colleagues except Winston, who happened to be spending that week-end at the Wharf and was much loved by the soldiers. I did not want K. to succeed him, so I said I profoundly hoped he would refuse, and added:

"I am sure K. would be much more useful to us diplomatically—I suppose he jumped at your suggestion . . ."

"HENRY: 'Not he! He did not want it at all; he doesn't fancy taking the post now that every detail of our plans have been made . . .'

"MARGOT: 'Oh! he'll take it all right! p'raps he wanted to be pressed . . .'

"HENRY: 'Then he will be disappointed—I told him to think it over . . .'

"MARGOT: 'What did he say?'

"HENRY: 'That was all; we didn't say anything else; I sent him away, as I had to go to the King . . .'

"A friend of Kitchener's met me a few hours after this and said:

"'What a wonderful man K. is! I hear he instantly offered himself and his services to the Prime Minister in whatever capacity he wished to use him.'"

Although Mrs. Asquith repeatedly states that she regretted her husband's action in making Lord Kitchener Minister of War, she admits that Kitchener was devoted to Mr. Asquith, and that "Henry showed him infinite patience and courtesy." In other paragraphs she alludes to the pressure that was brought to bear on Sir John French at a critical state of the war:



MRS. MARGOT ASQUITH

Lord Kitchener shared with my husband a stubborn optimism throughout the war. He despised the people who rushed from the raids to Brighton, or showed any sort of panic. Those who—awed by rumor—spent their breath, tired their bodies, and wasted their time in spy-hunting met with his unmeasured contempt. The only time I ever saw K. the least upset was when he went secretly to France—after Poincaré's anxious telegram—to order Sir John French to attack instead of to withdraw from Paris.

We had been spending the week-end at Lympne Castle in Kent and motored up to Downing Street after midnight. It was a terrible moment. The honor of England depended on our taking a right and prompt decision. My husband had made up his mind that there was only one course to pursue, and had his advice not been followed he would have resigned. Luckily Sir John French thought better of his original intention and after Kitchener's historic visit our troops remained to support the French.

## ARE THE BRITISH RAILWAYS GOING BANKRUPT?

ACCORDING to statements made by Mr. H. J. Jennings in the *Fortnightly Review* (London) for September, the financial condition of the British railways is not materially better than that of the American roads. They are now paying out annually in wages £161,000,000—a sum already greatly in excess of the total paid in dividends.

Of the Committee of Thirteen, appointed by the Ministry of Transport to decide all questions of wages and conditions of work, only four are railway managers, and, in the opinion of Mr. Jennings, if this committee is allowed to go on exercising its present powers, wages "will rise until they reach the point when there is nothing for it but to invoke a receivership."

We have the authority of the Ministry of Transport for the calculation that the total amount of salaries and wages paid by the railways of Great Britain has risen from £49,000,000 in 1913 to £163,000,000 at the present time, and £161,000,000 of the latter figure is on account of wages. Yet not until January 15 of the present year was any attempt made by the government to meet the growing increase in working expenses. The raising of passenger fares by 50 per cent. in 1917 was avowedly designed, not to increase revenue, but to discourage traffic and lessen the pressure on the limited train accommodation. In January last a belated addition of from 50 to 60 per cent. was made to the rates for goods traffic, and was estimated to produce £51,000,000 a year, about £10,000,000 of which appears to be included in the receipts to March 31. Meanwhile expenditure continued to increase, and since the question of the revision of rates was referred to the Advisory Committee last October materials have risen by £12,000,000, coal by £3,500,000, and wages by £24,300,000. As the total net receipts on railway working and subsidiary undertakings for 1919-20 were only £7,161,220, and the government guarantee amounted to £46,675,000, there was a big realized deficit. This is given in the White Paper as £41,349,530, which is rather more than appears from the figures just quoted. The estimate for a full year in conditions prior to the

recent additional charges shows a loss on working of £4,500,000, and the net liability falling on the Exchequer for the railways of the United Kingdom is estimated as £54,500,000 instead of £41,349,530.

It was in order to wipe out this anticipated deficit of £54,500,000 for the year 1920-21 that the new scales of freight and passenger rates have been imposed. They are, in fact, expected to yield an additional revenue of £72,000,000. Of this £72,000,000, £55,000,000 are expected to accrue from the freight and mineral traffic and £17,000,000 from passenger fares.

But, says Mr. Jennings, there are grounds for thinking that the calculations of the Ministry of Transport and its buffer committees are too optimistic.

Motor vans and motor lorries and all kinds of road traction are coming into more general use at rates appreciably lower, ton for ton, than those of the railway companies. At a meeting of the Advisory Committee the transport manager of Lipton's produced a record which showed that between the metropolis and towns 200 miles away, transport by road was as cheap as, and mostly cheaper than, transport by rail. Between London and Bristol the rail charge per ton is 5s. and the road charge 4s.; between London and Leeds 6s. 5d. and 5s., respectively; and between London and Brighton 3s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. Add to this saving the benefits of a quicker delivery and a smaller risk of pilfering, and there is not much doubt as to which way the volume of business will ultimately go. And if it once goes from the railways it will probably go forever. Road competition has been a thorn in their flesh for some time; it now threatens to be a dagger in their heart. Having brought them to the pass of an actual heavy loss on working, the government now proceeds to rectify its blunder by enforcing a plant that may in its results be indistinguishable from an act of slow suicide.

Undoubtedly the competition of motor transport threatens the railways very seriously. But the motor traffic, according to

Mr. Frederick A. Talbot, who discusses the whole transport at length in the London *World's Work* (August) has obtained an altogether unfair advantage by escaping its due proportion of the cost of maintaining the public roads which it is permitted to use.

This is the first year of the great development. The items of depreciation and maintenance have not yet fully asserted themselves. A rich harvest has been garnered in the summer months, during which period the public is in holiday mood. But what about the winter, when fares are few and far between and the roads are likely to be bad?

At the moment there is a keen conflict for supremacy between the railway and the motor-lorry in the movement of freight. The latter is stated to be far cheaper, and the supporters of the motor-lorry advance figures in support of their theory. When regarded by the ton unit there does appear to be a saving of a few shillings, but reduce that to the pound or yard, by which commodities are purchased by the public, and it will be discovered to represent only an insignificant fraction of a penny, from which the public does not receive a farthing benefit. Foodstuffs dispatched by road over long distances are not sold any cheaper than those dispatched by rail.

Motor transport is being extolled under false pretenses. Charges which should be legitimately attached to the running of the vehicle are discreetly assigned to some other factor. In so far as railway and marine transportation are concerned, we know exactly where we stand; all the cards are laid upon the table. But in regard to motor transportation, we are still groping blindly.

Mr. Talbot regards the financial situation of the railways as very critical and fully realizes that any further additions to the charges for passenger or freight traffic may easily defeat their own object by compelling the public to abandon the railways for other forms of transport. He suggests that what we need is not "a bureaucracy over which no control can be exercised," like the Ministry of Transport, but a great organizing genius like the American Mr. Harriman, who made it his business to put his own house in order and effect economies in every possible direction. Mr. Talbot declares that our railways are at present ridiculously overstaffed, and estimates that the majority of men employed, owing to the unscientific organization of the railways, perform no useful work of any kind, during between 30 and 50 per cent of their eight-hour day.

In the United States, where the railways are confronted with a situation similar to that prevailing in these islands, the administrations are overhauling their personnel and every superfluous man is being discharged. One system, the Pennsylvania, recently paid off 12,000 men because

it discovered that the work in hand could be comfortably undertaken by those retained.

Our railways might profitably follow the example. Ticket collection upon the train could dispense with the system prevailing and which can scarcely be construed into a man's job. A new type of employee should be instituted to fulfil such duties as the coupling up of trains, although this duty could be eliminated were the system of automatic coupling adopted.

It is notorious that no new development has ever been introduced by any British railway, at least during recent years, except under extreme pressure. The railways of Britain have been running nearly a century, but we have not yet adopted the automatic coupler, nor the automatic brake upon our goods vehicles. Yet both are time, labor, and money savers.

Automatic signalling has established its value upon our tubes and underground railways, but has it been introduced upon our trunk roads? We pride ourselves upon the perfection of our block system, but we pay dearly for it, for the simple reason that it is not up to date. There are hundreds of miles of track, free from crossovers, junctions, and switches, upon which the diminutive signal box is still preserved, but which might be just as efficiently protected by an automatic signalling system, and at far less cost.

Side by side with drastic economy in the whole system—which would include the disappearance of most of the 1350 paid directors who now administer the fifty different systems in the United Kingdom—Mr. Talbot urges the principles of "increased output," which, in the case of the railways, means carrying much more traffic in proportion to the amount of rolling stock in use.

The man-in-the-street is at heart a business man. He knows full well that certain railways derive more than 50 per cent. of their revenue from the carriage of passengers. He is likewise cognizant of the circumstance that, taking one southern railway as a case in point, of the £2,500,000 annually derived from passengers as compared with £900,000 drawn from the movement of merchandise, the greater part of this sum is made up of the money absorbed from season ticket holders and excursionists. Naturally he argues that if it paid the company in question to carry travelers a round trip of 100 miles for 2s. 6d. in 1914 why it should not be equally remunerative to provide similar facilities to-day for 5s. instead of demanding 14s. 7d.

Mr. Talbot attaches very great importance to the possibilities of developing light railways, which he declares to have performed services during the war that have convinced expert opinion in America that they are incomparably the best method of transport for linking up the less centralized areas in any country. Such lines can be built and maintained at a far lower cost than ordinary modern highway.

## COÖPERATION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS



© Clindest Studio

DR. JOHN R. MOT

(American representative at the Crans Conference)

**A**N important international conference on missionary coöperation was held at Crans (near Geneva) on June 22-28. This conference was called at the request of the national missionary organizations in the different countries. Its proceedings are reported in the *International Review of Missions* (October).

There were representatives of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, of the Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, of the Paris Missionary Society, and the missionary interests in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa were represented.

The German Missions were not represented officially, but four members of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh, 1914) were present in personal capacity: Bishop Hennig, Professor Hausleiter Halle, Professor Julius Richter (Berlin), and Missionsinspektor Friedrich Würz. Bishop Roots, chairman of the China Continuation Committee, was chosen chairman of the conference, and Dr.

John R. Mott chairman of the Business Committee.

It was agreed that the whole missionary situation at the end of the war called for review and that the establishment of the League of Nations will have important consequences for Christian missions. Mandates will effect and establish new precedents in matters pertaining to missionary work. The state will assume increased responsibility, regulation, and control of education. The position and influence of Christian schools and teaching will alter fundamentally. What should be the policy of missionary societies in this new situation? In the whole history of missions they have hardly had to face a more searching question.

The conference recommended that immediate steps be taken for a study of the whole subject of international coöperation. (A report in full of the conference at Crans is published by the Student Volunteer Movement, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City.) Sir Michael E. Sadler reviews the findings of the committee on "Village Education in India." The report shows "a massive unity in the problem as a whole"; that "all India is concerned in finding remedies for the prevailing illiteracy of a large part of its inhabitants, which is the heavy drag on their spiritual and economic development."

"The Missionary and His Relation to International Political Questions" is considered in all its complexity. The question is asked: "Are St. Paul's words regarding subjection to the powers that be to be literally applied . . . and in the fundamental teaching of Christ, what is the relativity of the temporal powers as stated in the words, 'Render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.'"

The peaceful penetration of "Islam in the Sudan," as reported by Dr. Blyden in 1887 ("Christianity, Islam, and the Negro race": London, Whittingham, 1887), was strengthened by Professor Westerman in 1912. Roland Allen, writing in the *Review*, accepts these reports because it is difficult to refute them; and makes an appeal to Christian missions, *first* for "respect for our converts" in order to "help them to true Christian self-respect," and further says: "Until native Christians learn to respect themselves, we shall never be able to meet Moslem propaganda on equal terms."

# SEARCHING IN ASIA FOR THE OLDEST MAN

IT has generally been assumed by scientists that Asia was the early home of the human race, and many of them have believed that any light that we are likely to receive regarding the origin of man will come from the great Central Asia Plateau north of the Himalaya Mountains.

The American Museum of Natural History, in coöperation with the American Asiatic Association, is organizing a great expedition to carry on scientific research on the Asiatic Continent. Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews announces in the November number of *Asia* (New York) that this will be the largest and most comprehensive expedition ever sent out on such a quest. A special study will be made of the living aboriginal inhabitants and the remnants of prehistoric tribes as well as of the geography and paleontology and the mammals, birds, fish and reptiles. By such means it is hoped to obtain new facts relating to the origin, development and migrations of the human race. Mr. Andrews shows that the human problem is closely connected with that of the animal life of both the present and the past. Primitive man was a hunter. In the early geologic ages the geography of the earth was quite unlike what it is at present. Land existed where to-day there are great lakes and seas. Mountains were elevated, and treeless deserts formed. Animals used the "land bridge" to travel from one continent to another. As men became dependent on the beasts for food and skins, they followed the animals in their movements from place to place. Thus Mr. Andrews believes that animal migration was one of the many causes of the wanderings of primitive tribes. Climatic conditions must have had a profound influence upon the development, life and wanderings of primitive man as well as of the animals on which he fed.

It seems that Asia is less known paleontologically than any other part of the world. The Museum collections of animals and reptiles of prehistoric times have come from Europe and North and South America. The fossils of Eastern and Central Asia are known only from a small collection of fragments purchased in the medicine shops of Tien-Tsin, China, and described by a German named Schlosser. Fossils are known to the Chinese as "dragon bones" and are believed

to possess remarkable medicinal qualities. If a native of the old school finds a fossil-bearing rock, he conceals it with great care. It is for him a valuable find.

During the past three years Dr. J. G. Anderson, Mining Adviser to the Chinese Republic, has excavated for fossils in various parts of China. His work has been remarkably successful, and some of the larger specimens that he has acquired are known to represent primitive rhinoceroses, horses, sheep, bears, and elephants.

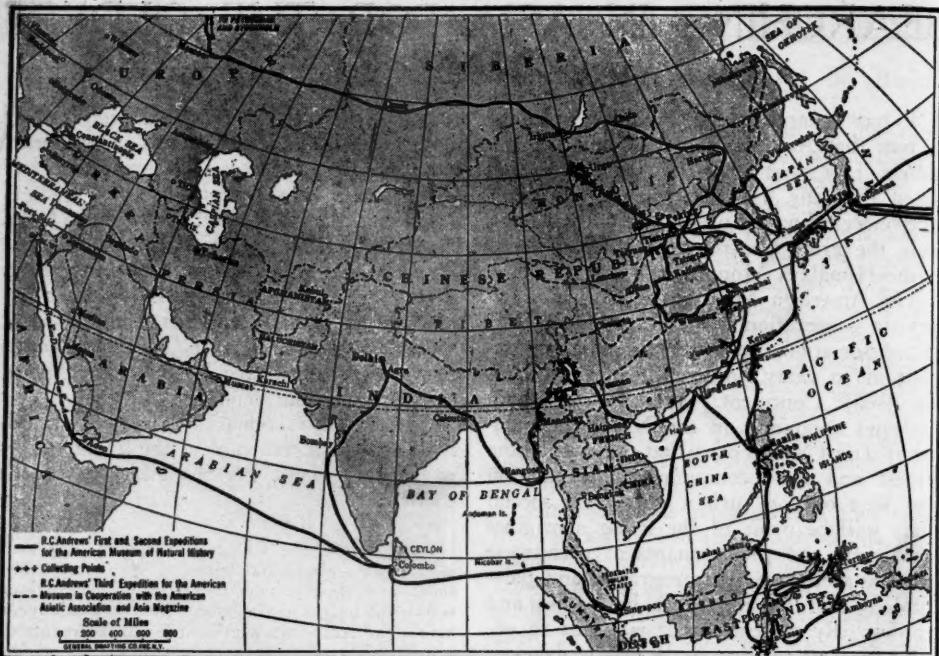
Mr. Andrews remarks that we know almost as little about some of the living natives of Asia as about the fossil history of the country.

Long before the Chinese arrived, China was inhabited by aboriginal tribes, which were pushed south and west just as the Indians were driven westward by the white men when they advanced across the American continent. The remnants of nearly thirty of these ancient tribes, such as the Lulos, Mosos, Lisos, and others, are rapidly disappearing and yet almost nothing is known of their origin, life or customs.

Although many of the aborigines were scattered among the mountains of Yunnan and Kweichow and along the Tibetan frontier, the Lulos still maintain an independent territory in Szechuan, one of the richest and most populous provinces of China. No Chinese is permitted to cross the invisible lines of their "kingdom" without the probability of incurring a violent death. Continual raids are carried on back and forth along the border. Perhaps the Chinese will capture a score or more of Lulos who have ventured to glimpse the world beyond their wild hills and valleys. In retaliation, a few nights later the Lulos will burn a whole Chinese village, kill all the men and carry the women into slavery. Thus the Lulos have earned a reputation as barbaric savages. And yet a French explorer who crossed their territory, properly "chaperoned," reports them to be a charming people, of hospitable temper and high mentality. He is one of the few scientists who have penetrated the land of the Lulos and lived to tell the tale. I myself have hunted with Lulos in Yunnan. Independent they are, to be sure, but delightful in their native courtesy and simplicity.

It is impossible not to be interested in the ancestry of this strange people. They are totally unlike the Chinese, for they are tall and slender, with long faces and patrician noses, and they show every indication of Caucasian blood. If they have it, where did it come from? This is one of the questions that should be answered before the Lulos disappear, as the other tribes are rapidly doing.

There are many reasons why Central Asia has remained scientifically unexplored for so long a time. It is so remote and difficult of access that



THE ROUTE TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE SEARCH FOR THE OLDEST MAN

(Members of the scientific expedition headed by Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews plan to collect in China specimens that will make New York the center of the richest collection in the world illustrating Asiatic life from the dim past to the present)

the cost of conducting work on a large scale is enormous. Moreover, the country and its inhabitants present unusual obstacles to scientific research. Not only are there vast intersecting mountain chains, waterless deserts and treeless plains, but in many parts the climate is too cold for effective work in winter. In some places the natives are exceedingly suspicious of foreigners; religious superstitions greatly handicap research and make it decidedly dangerous. The Chinese have many superstitions regarding the ground. The *feng shui*, the spirits of the earth, wind and water, must always be favorable before a burial takes place, and it is exceedingly unlucky to disturb the ground in the region of a cemetery. Though our paleontologists are certain to encounter difficulties in the more settled portions, they can probably overcome them by tact and a proper understanding of the situation. Those in charge of railroads and other commercial projects that have involved digging in China have always been able to compromise with protesting villagers, and they have found even within the past ten years a very great change in attitude. In Tibet conditions are even more difficult. All the gold in the country belongs to the Lama Church and the natives can conceive of only two reasons why foreigners should come to their country—either as gold-seekers or as missionaries.

The American Museum of Natural History has already sent out two expeditions for work in Asia. The first, in 1916-17, visited Yunnan, the most southwestern province of

China, and one of the least known. Three thousand mammals were obtained there, as well as many birds, reptiles, and batrachians. In 1919 the second expedition extended its work to Mongolia and Northern China and obtained a large number of specimens. Mr. Andrews predicts that with the excellent nucleus resulting from the first two expeditions and the brilliant prospects for the third, New York should become, within the next ten years, the seat of the most important natural history collections from Asia that the world has ever seen. At present the most important collections of this character are in the British Museum.

The American collections will be available for study and for exhibition in the American Museum's proposed Hall of Asiatic Life in New York City. Here will be exhibited groups with painted backgrounds, which will be so selected as to have a definite geographical and botanical as well as zoological value. The high Steppes of the Tibetan Plateau, the sandy wastes of the Gobi Desert, the snow-covered peaks of the Himalayas, the dense forests of the Malayan Peninsula, and the semi-tropical jungles of Southern China will be shown.

# ELECTRIFICATION OF THE EASTERN STATES

IF the cost of producing electric current can be kept down to a point that will enable its more general use, it seems certain that there will soon be a striking expansion in that field. Mr. Carl Fowler points out in the Boston *Evening Transcript* of September 22 that in the comparatively near future the more important railroads of the United States are likely to be electrified. He believes that the present practice of supplying each train with a complete individual power plant is inconsistent with sound engineering principles.

While it is true that great central stations are being built in Europe and in this country to-day, engineers have something still greater in view. This is the so-called super-power central station, built with multiples of 30,000 kilowatt units up to a total station capacity of, say, 100,000, 300,000 or even 500,000 kilowatts. In the development of this super-station a point will be reached where substantially one-half of the average coal consumption will be used, and a probable reduction of the men and payroll per kilowatt output will result.

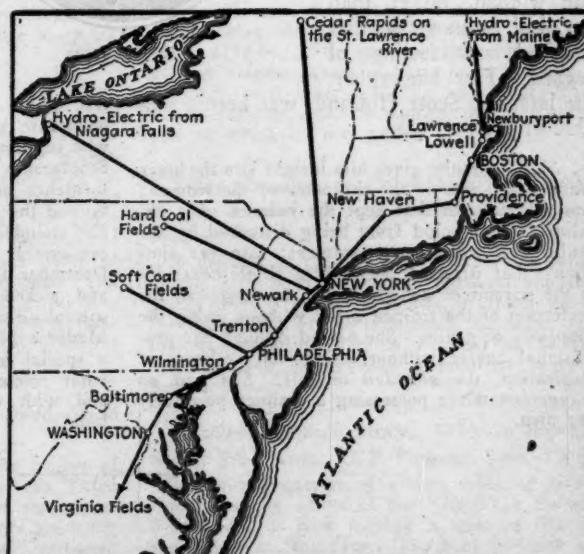
Mr. John A. Stevens, a consulting engineer of Lowell, Mass., has discussed such a proposed super-power station in recent articles contributed to *Power*. According to Mr. Stevens,

the super-station should be used to relay and re-enforce hydro-electric developments where possible, and to supply practically all the energy to manufacturing and other plants, outside of the power that can be made as a by-product to manufacturing and heating steam requirements, which are usually supplied by non-condensing engines and non-condensing turbines of various types. With the present advance of electrical transmission systems and the use of high voltages, the opportunity to locate such a super-station either at or near the coal mines or on large and navigable rivers or at tidewater, is available.

By locating super-power stations in large industrial communities a great reduction would be made in the amount of coal necessary to handle the power in such communities. Broadly

speaking, it is estimated that the coal consumed per unit in such stations is about one-half of the isolated plant. Mr. Stevens is familiar with at least one instance in which the saving of coal is about 500,000 tons a year. In his opinion New England will eventually have not more than five or six of these great stations. Since a super-station of the kind projected requires enormous amounts of condensing water, it can be located only on a river like the Connecticut or Merrimac, or at shore points on rivers, lakes or oceans, where the intake canal and discharge canal, or conduit, from the condensers should be 1000 feet apart.

The accompanying map shows suggested transmission lines from the hard and soft coal fields, Niagara Falls, Cedar Rapids on the St. Lawrence, and the main hydro-electric plants. Mr. Stevens finds that there is a 300,000-kilowatt load, not including the steam railroad electrification, within a radius of fifty miles from Newburyport or Beverly, Mass., which could be connected with the great water-power developments at Manchester, N. H., Lowell and Lawrence, Mass. He computes the resulting conservation of coal in this power zone alone at 500,000 long tons per year.



SUGGESTED POWER-TRANSMISSION LINES TO FEED THE PROPOSED SUPER-POWER ZONE OF THE EASTERN STATES

## JENNY LIND, "THE SWEDISH NIGHTINGALE"

THIS year marks the centenary of the famous Swedish singer, Jenny Lind, known in later life to the English public as Madame Goldschmidt. She was born at Stockholm on October 6, 1820. In 1850, when she had become a world-famous artist and celebrity, Jenny Lind was brought to America by P. T. Barnum and sang before a great audience at Castle Garden, New York City. Probably there are few living persons who heard her voice, but the fame of her singing has endured throughout the seventy years that have elapsed since the great Castle Garden concert.

A writer in the English magazine, *Cornhill*, for October, dwells on the fact that in England—and the same thing may be said of America—the affection evoked by Jenny Lind is different from the homage paid by the aged to those who won admiration in their youth. It was the character of the woman, rather than her skill as an artist, that inspired such feelings of regard. Her biographer, the late Dr. Scott Holland, was keenly sensible of this:

... his sympathy gives him insight into the inner sources of power in the character of the woman; into the strength that kept the balance of a peculiarly sound mind from being disturbed by her genius and artistic temperament; into the simplicity that directed her course single-heartedly in the pursuit of a high ideal. She acquired the perfection of the trained artist without losing the simplicity of genius. She passed through her professional career without losing the freshness of inspiration, the *abandon* of self. She had no mannerism while possessing a manner peculiarly her own.

Perhaps Jenny Lind's nobility as an artist is due to the fact that her dramatic instinct was innate. Before she was conscious of it as a talent it had been discovered and made use of. When she was ten years old she fascinated playgoers to the Royal Theatre, Stockholm. Her musical gifts were perceived and appreciated almost from her cradle! Whether the cat, the cat with the blue ribbon round its neck, to whom the little Jenny sang continually, had a critical ear, who shall say? Jenny herself has said that she sang with every step she took and every jump she made.

An interesting passage of the *Cornhill* article is devoted to Jenny Lind's acquaintance with Mendelssohn, the composer, who greatly admired her voice:

It is well known that "the Lind's" voice was in Mendelssohn's ears, her spiritual interpretation in his mind, when he composed the "Elijah." He studied her voice. "Hear ye, Israel" and "Lift thine eyes" gave opportunities for the peculiar quality of it to ring out. He lived to conduct the first performance of the most perfect of his works at the Birmingham Musical Festival, though he had not the bliss of hearing the music interpreted in her parts as only a Jenny Lind could reveal it; and when the sorrow, world-

felt, of his early death stirred mourners to commemorate his life worthily, it was Jenny Lind who suggested the foundation of the Mendelssohn Scholarship Fund from the proceeds of a performance of the "Elijah" in Exeter Hall. She invited the élite of her artist friends to help her. She attended every rehearsal and, of course, sang *con amore*. "Complete and splendid," the *Times*, December 15, 1848, pronounced the performance, and picked out Mademoiselle Lind's parts for special discriminate notice. Jenny wrote to Madame Mendelssohn that she sang it "in quite a special mood. His Elijah is sublime. With what solemnity we stood there to perform it and with what love do people still speak of him."



JENNY LIND

# THE NEW BOOKS

## BIOGRAPHY: AMERICAN, BRITISH, FRENCH

**The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie.** Houghton Mifflin Company. 385 pp. Ill.

No fiction written in our day, whether it be as "strange" or not, is likely to prove as vitally interesting as this true story of the poor Scotch boy who came to America seventy years ago, worked in a factory, became a telegraph messenger, served the Union cause as a railroad operator in the Civil War, took a hand in bridge-building, rose to be the greatest iron master of his time, and passed the last twenty years of his life in giving away for public uses the millions that he had amassed. The whole record is illumined by Mr. Carnegie's unfailing humor and genial spirit.

**The Americanization of Edward Bok: the Autobiography of a Dutch Boy Fifty Years After.** Charles Scribner's Sons. 454 pp. Ill.

Like Andrew Carnegie, Mr. Edward W. Bok, the successful editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, began his career in America as an immigrant boy in humble circumstances. He had the added handicaps of being compelled, at the age of seven, to learn a new language—he was Dutch by birth—but that only stimulated his exertions. As an American after Roosevelt's own heart he may now look back with pride over the record of fifty years. It is a wholesome life story for all Americans to read.

**Sir Victor Horsley.** By Stephen Paget. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 358 pp. Ill.

Sir Victor Horsley, who died in the British Service during the Mesopotamian campaign of 1916, was among the most eminent surgeons of his time. His discoveries concerning the brain and the spinal cord had made his professional fame secure, and his zeal in various fields of social reform—the anti-alcohol movement and woman suffrage among others—had given him a great popular reputation. The present volume gives judicious estimates of both his scientific career and his public service.

**Gambetta.** By Paul Deschanel. Dodd, Mead and Company. 335 pp.

One cannot hope to understand the course of French politics in the early years of the Third Republic without a careful study of the career of Leon Gambetta. Perhaps it was not generally understood outside of France that Paul Deschanel, who recently resigned the Presidency, in his early days came into personal contact with Gambetta,

and for years was on intimate terms with many of Gambetta's associates. M. Deschanel completed this biography in 1919. Not only is it an extremely interesting book from the personal standpoint, but it is a real contribution to the history of the French Republic.

**Memoirs of the Count de Rochechouart.** Authorized Translation by Frances Jackson. E. P. Dutton & Company. 351 pp.

These memoirs were completed not long before the author's death, in 1858. They are now presented for the first time in English translation. The Count de Rochechouart was engaged in Russian military operations during the Napoleonic Wars. He took part in various battles during the retreat of Napoleon's Grand Army, and later was in the advance of the Allies and was made Governor of Paris. After the Battle of Waterloo he served under the restored French monarchy. His memoirs describe not only military movements, but give inside views of political developments as well.

**Correspondence of Jean-Baptiste Carrier.** E. H. Carrier. John Lane Company. 283 pp.

The author of this correspondence is almost universally condemned for his brutality as French revolutionist administrator in Brittany during the years 1793-94. The purpose in publishing the present volume seems to have been to show by Carrier's own letters that he had good, if not great, qualities, notwithstanding the bloodthirsty acts of which he was guilty.

**Tales Retailed of Celebrities and Others.** By Sir Hastings D'Oyly. John Lane Company. 159 pp.

A veteran of the Indian Civil Service relates in this little book a series of personal anecdotes chiefly having to do with life in India during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. The first chapter, however, is devoted to Warren Hastings and harks back a hundred years in British history.

**Charles Chapin's Story.** With an Introduction by Basil King. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 334 pp.

The autobiography of a man who for twenty years was city editor of the *New York Evening World*, and is now serving a term of life imprisonment at Sing Sing. The book is frank and informing on certain phases of daily newspaper work.

**Humors of a Parish and Other Quaintnesses.** By Rev. W. B. Money. With a preface by Walter Herries Pollock. John Lane Company. 203 pp. Ill.

The life story of an English clergyman who was a famous Cambridge cricket-player in the '70's and has apparently retained his love of sport throughout his life.

**The Life and Work of Sir Hiram Maxim.** By P. Fleury Mottelay. John Lane Company. 230 pp. Ill.

Sir Hiram Maxim, the inventor, was born in Maine and many of his most important inventions were patented in this country. In 1900 he became a naturalized British subject and was knighted in the following year by Queen Victoria.

This book gives succinct accounts of the most important of his inventions, including the automatic gun, smokeless powder, the electric lamp filament, the gun for attacking Zeppelins, and several aeronautic devices.

**American Leaders.** By Mabel Ansley Murphy. Philadelphia: The Union Press. 194 pp. Ill.

Brief sketches of men who have had to do with the making of America, from Washington, Franklin and Penn to Lincoln and Roosevelt.

**Greathearted Women.** By Mabel Ansley Murphy. Philadelphia: The Union Press. 164 pp. Ill.

Brief biographies of sixteen women leaders of American and English life.

## HISTORY: CHIEFLY AMERICAN

**The Pilgrim Republic.** By John Abbott Goodwin. Houghton Mifflin Company. 662 pp. Ill.

Many years ago Mr. John A. Goodwin, himself a devoted descendant of several members of the *Mayflower's* human cargo, wrote an elaborate history of the Plymouth Colony which he entitled, "The Pilgrim Republic." This work has never been superseded, and its appearance now in an attractive new edition will be most welcome to students of Plymouth colonial history, and to sons and daughters of the Pilgrims throughout the country.

**Cape Cod and the Old Colony.** By Albert Perry Brigham. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 284 pp. Ill.

Few men have written so entertainingly about the homes and haunts of the Pilgrims and their neighbors of "The Old Colony" as has Professor Brigham in this volume. He approaches the subject from a new viewpoint, that of the geologist and student of the *terrain*. His researches have gone even farther back than the human occupation of the land. His descriptions of Cape Cod's hills and shorelines give the history of the human exploitation of the region a new aspect.

**The Centennial History of Illinois. Vol. I. The Illinois Country 1673-1818.** By Clarence Walworth Alvord. Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 524 pp. Ill.

The first volume of the "Centennial History of Illinois" covers the entire period from the discovery by the French in 1673 to the year 1818, when Illinois was admitted as a State of the Union. The Americans were late in their arrival, having been preceded by the French fur-traders and the British army officers who claimed possession of the territory in the name of their sovereign. In this volume the whole story is succinctly related, and the reader is directed to an imposing list of historical sources, published

and unpublished. The illustrations consist of portraits, scenes and maps.

**The Centennial History of Illinois. Vol. V. The Modern Commonwealth 1893-1918.** By Ernest Ludlow Bogart and John Mabry Mathews. Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 544 pp. Ill.

The closing volume of the series covering a century of Illinois history discloses many phases of the State's progress in both material and intellectual interests. There are chapters on the growth of education, art and letters, agricultural changes, manufactures, trade and transportation, labor organization, the civil service, and finally, the part taken by Illinois in the Great War.

**Intimate Pages of Mexican History.** By Edith O'Shaughnessy. George H. Doran Company. 351 pp.

Mrs. O'Shaughnessy is the wife of the American chargé d'affaires at Mexico City during the administrations of Madero and Huerta. It happens that she has personally known four Presidents of Mexico. The present volume contains her personal observations on Mexican political developments from 1910 to 1914. She presents in a vivid way intimate facts relating to Mexican administration as she herself has witnessed it. She has made an unusual and, in some respects, a startling record.

**Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age.** By Mary Wilhelmine Williams. The Macmillan Company. 451 pp. Ill.

An imposing body of information about the social life of the Vikings has been assembled in this volume. Much of it, we suspect, was never before accessible in English. At least this is the first time that such facts have been brought together. In addition to the text descriptions, there are various illustrations of utensils and ships which help to convey to the modern world some notion of the life that went in that era of Scandinavian history.

## THREE IMPORTANT WAR BOOKS

**The First World War.** By Lieut.-Col. C. A Court Repington. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 621 pp. Vol. II. 581 pp.

During the progress of the war Colonel Repington's name became known throughout the English-speaking world. His comments on current military operations, as published in the British press, were everywhere read with keen interest. In these volumes appear the daily entries in his diary, from the autumn of 1915 to the close of the Peace Conference in the summer of 1919. The A. E. F. emerges with credit from the keen scouting of this distinguished military critic.

**The Victory at Sea.** By Rear-Admiral William Sowden Sims. In Collaboration with Burton J. Hendrick. Doubleday, Page & Company. 410 pp.

It goes without saying that no one is in so good a position to tell American readers just how the campaign against the submarines was conducted

during the Great War as the commander of the American naval forces operating in European waters. From the nature of the case, less has been published about our navy's part in the war than about the land operations. Secrecy was essential to success; but now the story can be told, and it is told—brilliantly and succinctly—by Admiral Sims.

**The Lafayette Flying Corps.** Edited by James Norman Hall and Charles Bernard Nordhoff. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 513 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 360 pp. Ill.

These beautiful volumes record the deeds of that active group of American aviators who entered the French air service almost a year before their own country had declared war against Germany. Of the 650 American flying men who before the end of the war saw service at the front, more than 100 belonged to the Lafayette Corps. These volumes contain portraits and biographical sketches of all.

## AMERICANS ABROAD

**China the Mysterious and Marvelous.** By Victor Murdock. Fleming H. Revell Company. 310 pp. Ill.

Victor Murdock's observations about China form one of the most refreshing and fascinating books of travel that have appeared in a long time. Mr. Murdock does not feel any concern about maintaining the reputation of a humorist, yet this book would have done credit to Mark Twain. Neither does he take himself profoundly as a social and political philosopher, but there are chapters that show deep insight. It is not a connected record of travel, but a series of episodes, descriptions and analyses. There is not a tedious line in the book, yet it is all the more instructive for being so astonishingly entertaining. Mr. Murdock is at no pains to tell us when he went to China, how he went, or how long he stayed. He simply gives us his impressions of places, of people, of life, and of general conditions. He sojourned far up the Yangtze Kiang, and his book turns largely upon the life of the provinces along that wonderful river. His descriptions of the upper Yangtze are admirable bits of writing. Kansas journalism and politics have produced a remarkable group of contemporary Americans, progressive, democratic, high-minded, and courageous. This book of Victor Murdock's finds us further indebted to the Kansas school of journalists, humorists and statesmen.

**In Morocco.** By Edith Wharton. Charles Scribner's Sons. 290 pp. Ill.

Mrs. Wharton visited Morocco in 1918, and although she had only a month in which to see the country, she enjoyed unusual facilities for observation through the favor of General Lyautey. Mrs. Wharton devotes a chapter of her book to

the work of the French Resident General in Morocco, giving information that is probably new to most American readers. In other chapters, also, Mrs. Wharton gives illuminating facts concerning the French administration of the country, and although in the brief time at her disposal it was of course impossible to visit every point of interest in Morocco, she is able to describe the most important places in detail, and with emphasis on the things most likely to interest American readers. The illustrations are remarkably good.

**Roaming Through the West Indies.** By Harry A. Franck. The Century Company. 486 pp. Ill.

Mr. Franck is an experienced traveler who first won reputation as a pedestrian. In his tour of the West Indies, however, he was perforce obliged to abandon that mode of travel for the greater part of the journey. This rather bulky volume relates his adventures in the Antilles, giving sketches of Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, recently acquired by the United States, and the British and French West Indies. As in earlier travel volumes by the same author, the illustrations are all from his own photographs, most of which are excellent.

**Present-Day Paris and the Battlefields.** By Sommerville Story. D. Appleton & Company. 170 pp.

In this instance author and publishers have combined to produce a novelty in latter-day book-making—a mapless guide book. Tourists who are now visiting Paris in large numbers and going out from there to the battlefields should be able, with the aid of this little hand-book and the cheap maps already available, to hunt out many

interesting quarters of Paris that might otherwise be passed by, besides making excursions to Château-Thierry, Verdun, and other places made memorable by the Great War.

**Seeing the Far West.** By John T. Faris. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 299 pp. Ill.

Panoramic descriptions of much of the most interesting scenery between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, interspersed with historical allusions and shrewd personal observations. Even the most prolific writers on Western scenery have come far short of exhausting the subject. Mr. Faris gives special attention to the National Parks and monuments, some of which have been only recently described in books of travel, and are still practically unknown even to the majority of those American travelers who have crossed the Continent.

**In Lower Florida Wilds.** By Charles Torrey Simpson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 404 pp. Ill.

Observations by a naturalist on the life forms, physical geography and geology of tropical Florida. This is not a technical treatise, although it embodies much exact information presented in a form that appeals to anyone having a curious interest in the matters discussed.

**South of the Suez.** By William Ashley Anderson. Robert M. McBride & Co. 240 pp. Ill.

The author of this book is a young American who went to Arabia in 1915 for an American trading firm. He afterwards spent much time in Mombasa, Zanzibar and Port Said, and crossed the great African game country. In the war as an officer of the King's African Rifles he led a troop of blacks against the Germans. In the present volume he gives a series of sketches and

descriptions of what he saw in Africa, the war serving rather as a background.

**Letters of Travel.** By Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page & Co. 302 pp.

These essays by Mr. Kipling touch on the United States, Canada, Japan, India, and Egypt. They record observations made during the past twenty-one years. Of special interest are the author's comments on the relations between America and Canada.

**Through Central Borneo.** By Carl Lumholtz. Charles Scribner's Sons. Vol. I. 242 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 468 pp. Ill.

Many years ago Mr. Carl Lumholtz became famous for his descriptions of aboriginal Australian life. These two volumes are devoted to an account of two years' travel in the land of the people known as head-hunters, between the years of 1913 and 1917. Large tracts of Central Borneo are still unexplored and unknown to the outside world. In his explorations Mr. Lumholtz received important assistance from the higher officials of the Dutch Government.

**The Sea and the Jungle.** By H. M. Tomlinson. E. P. Dutton & Company. 354 pp.

The narrative of a voyage of two thousand miles along the forests of the Amazon, and Madeira Rivers to the San Antonio Falls.

**An American's London.** By Louise Closser Hale. Harper & Brothers, 348 pp.

A lively account of London in the transition stage brought about by the war. Mrs. Hale is an American who knew London well, as it was before the war, and has followed with keen interest the social changes that have taken place there.

## OTHER TIMELY VOLUMES

**What's on the Worker's Mind?** By Whiting Williams. Scribner's. 329 pp. Ill.

The question that forms the title of this book so forced itself on the attention of Mr. Whiting Williams that he decided to put on rough clothes, disguise his name, and try for a laborer's job, in the hope that through human contact he might get an answer. Mr. Williams had been personnel director of the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company at Cleveland. A graduate of Oberlin College, he had already won distinction as an able and forceful contributor to the magazines. For months he worked in the steel mills, railroad yards, iron mines, and shipyards, living all the time like a laborer and sharing the laborer's hardships. This book is chiefly made up from his daily journal, and it is a wonderfully vivid, searching presentation of the toiler's mental attitude toward his employer, his fellows and his job.

**The Workers at War.** By Frank Julian Warne. The Century Company. 249 pp.

This book explains how the American workingman was convinced that his duty in the Great War was to fight with his government against political autocracy. Having defined the Government's labor policy during the war, Dr. Warne proceeds to set forth the dangers of industrial autocracy now confronting the American people.

**Winning Football.** By William W. Roper. Dodd, Mead & Company. 216 pp.

That modern football is dependent more on brains than brawn was ably demonstrated last year by Mr. Roper, Princeton's coach. His book tells in an interesting way how football has changed and how he believes "winning football" under modern conditions must be played and taught.